



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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CONGRESS

One new lawmaker feels the heat as the House prepares to vote soon on tax hikes and spending cuts

Freshmen Democrats Key to Budget Vote

By John Dillin

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

WHAT a day. What a week. Hours before "the most important vote of the year," Rep. Jay Inslee (D) of Washington finds himself at the center of a political whirlwind blowing around the White House and Capitol Hill.

Representative Inslee and other freshmen Democrats hold the future of President Clinton's \$1.5 trillion budget in their grasp. How will they vote? Many aren't saying.

"It depends," says Inslee enigmatically. "We've been having some real hard discussions...."

As the House of Representatives moves toward zero hour on the Clinton budget, possibly today, members like Inslee are tugged and pulled by the White House, by Democratic leaders, and by the voters back home.

Amid all the pressure, Inslee tries to remember why the voters sent him here: "I think they chose someone who had it in his heart that the No. 1 problem of the country was the federal deficit, and that we were all going to have to give something to solve that problem," he says.

Inslee praises Clinton for putting the deficit issue at the top of the government's agenda. The Clinton plan will cut the deficit in half in four or five years. But the congressman wonders: Is that good enough?

"It's just my belief that we can do better at this moment, and we ought not to let that moment pass," he says.

While House majority leader Richard Gephardt (D) of Missouri vows the Clinton budget will pass, all sides admit that unpredictable backbenchers like Inslee really hold the key.

Their unpredictability has given Inslee and his freshmen colleagues unusual prominence.

On Tuesday, for example, Inslee began the day at 7 a.m. with an interview on National Public Radio. An hour later, he met with 18 fellow freshmen Democrats on Capitol Hill to draft a letter to the president. They called for "substantial additional expenditure reductions before we agree to a tax increase...."

By 10 a.m., Inslee was at the White House with other freshmen

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Behind Balkans Disaster: A Gulf of Understanding

EDWARD GUSTAWSON/REUTERS



A BREAK FROM FIGHTING: Bosnian Serb soldier carries his daughter after returning from front line. Missteps by US officials, analysts say, helped set in motion the chain of events that led to a war now tearing Bosnia apart.

Pragmatic American policymakers stymied by ancient animosities

By Peter Grier

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

A SENIOR Clinton administration official recently had dinner with a Croatian counterpart who was visiting Washington to discuss the civil war in the Balkans.

When they started serious table talk, the American was taken aback by his guest's sense of context. The Croatian explained the fighting in the former Yugoslavia by referring to grievances that had occurred not in recent years, but in the Middle Ages. "He hadn't spoken more than five sentences before he was back in the 14th century," the United States official told reporters.

There are many reasons why the US has been unable to stop the spread of the Balkans war. Among them are the reluctance of allies to get more deeply involved and the difficulty of any Western military action in the tough Bosnian terrain. **(European reaction to safe havens, Page 7.)**

A main cause of the failure of See **BALKANS** page 4

Guatemala's Suspension of Democratic Rule Follows Precedent Set by Peru's Fujimori

By David Clark Scott

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

GUATEMALA CITY

GUATEMALAN President Jorge Serrano Elias appears undaunted by the negative reaction - at home and abroad - to his suspension of democratic rule here.

The Clinton administration issued a statement condemning "this illegitimate course of action," which "threatens to place Guatemala outside the democratic community of nations." The United States is this Central

American nation's No. 1 trading partner.

With the backing of the powerful Guatemalan military, Mr. Serrano on Tuesday dissolved the legislative and judicial branches of the government, saying he would rule by decree until elections for a new National Assembly were held in 60 days. The rights of free press, movement, and public protests have also been suspended. The presidents of the Guatemalan Congress and the Supreme Court were put under house arrest.

The Serrano administration is the second elected civilian government after some three decades

of military rule. Serrano's decision to abort the fledgling democracy also drew widespread criticism from the European Community, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and the Organization of American States, which called for a United Nations General Assembly meeting to be held on Guatemala within 10 days.

Serrano insists he is "a democrat who believes in democracy" and vows not to stay in office beyond the end of his elected term. But in nationwide radio and television broadcasts early Tuesday, and a press conference later, he explained that because of "ir-

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New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art salutes 100 years of the photographer's art, including that of author Lewis Carroll.

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DETAIL FROM THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

NATIONAL

Schools Start Mandating Community Service

Maryland program, which begins next year, is viewed as model of flexibility for students

By Shannon Henry

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

BRIDGET CONWAY, a high school freshman in District Heights, Md., expected sheer boredom in tutoring a third-grader the multiplication tables. But after spending weeks on the 2s and 3s, her pupil finally grasped the concept and gave Ms. Conway a hug. "Everybody needs somebody who likes them," says Conway, who now says she thinks tutoring is a great idea.

This is the kind of experience advocates hope for as public schools from California to Pennsylvania mandate community service in order to graduate.

But questions abound. For example, does managing a team count? Should schools send kids into homeless shelters in unsafe areas of town to teach morals?

Next year, Maryland will become the first state to make service obligatory. Meanwhile, officials are scrambling to come up with ways to make programs work. Instead of just expecting a set number of hours from a student, most Maryland districts chose to design less traditional programs. Students may work on something they are interested in, learn about aspects of service in classes, and write essays about their service experience.

Ron Piper, school and community-outreach director in Maryland, has taken calls from admin-

istrators around the nation who are interested in the requirement. Maryland counties formed committees to develop plans to fit the schools. Designs were so different that the financial outlooks ranged from a few cents to about \$107 per pupil.

Kathy McGuire, who led the Montgomery County committee, said placement will be a problem but not for lack of choices; the Boy Scouts, Audubon Society, and nursing homes are already looking for volunteers. The concern is over what constitutes service. Children are asking, for example, if they can mow an elderly neighbor's lawn for credit. Schools want a flexible program but are still working out wrinkles.

McGuire says flexibility also takes into consideration the fact that students are on different learning levels and may have problems donating extra time. But, she says: "To be successful at this doesn't require you to be an 'A' student."

Camille McCann, a Prince Georges County teacher, says one challenge in schools is teaching qualities like responsibility and compassion. "They learn through real live people."

Ms. McCann has been teaching an optional service-learning class at Suitland High School in District Heights for six years. Although teaching service was unusual when she started, it has now become extremely popular. "Service is a whole movement now, with Clinton and his service bill," she says. "Six years ago, we had one



DISTRICT HEIGHTS, MD.: Senior citizen Estelle Newmann and student Tanya Lee participate in Suitland High School's optional service program. In 1990, a class teaching service here won the president's Volunteer Action Award.

service class. Now we have three, and this year I had double the number of students register for them than I could take." In 1990, her class won the president's Volunteer Action Award for the most outstanding youth-service group in the nation.

Although service was not required for all students last year at Suitland, Conway had to take it because she is class president. Service has helped her social skills. "My mom said that I have the ability to talk to people more," she says. As for the mandate, she thinks it will help students reach more people in need.

One project is visits with senior citizens. And for the past five

years, Suitland has held a senior citizens' prom that's been a big hit with participants. Each woman is crowned for something, including "best hair," compliments of the cosmetology class.

Takeia Martin, a Suitland 12th-grader, has worked with the group for four years. "Working with senior citizens makes me more comfortable around older people," she says. Last year, she held a talk show for the seniors called "Takeia Talks," on people in the 1990s. Although she considers the seniors family, she does not agree with the mandate. "Not everyone will be sincere. The seniors can spot insincerity."

In Bethlehem, Pa., parents opposing required service took their district to court, claiming the 60-hour mandate violates the First Amendment's freedom of expression and the 13th Amendment's prohibition of involuntary servitude. The United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit ruled that the requirement is constitutional, finding that service is "not an expressive act" and not analogous to slavery.

Kris Leary, a teacher who was on the Montgomery County com-

mittee, says their format will enable most students to complete the requirement during the school day. This is good news for those who would have had to give up soccer practice. Ms. Leary also says students are concerned about the mandate. "It's a fear of the unknown."

The plan that least resembles the others is in Howard County. It requires service in middle school. Bill Sowders, who led the designing of the program, says children are most enthusiastic at that age. "This program will lay a foundation for their high school and adult years," he says. Students will perform such activities as tree planting and lobbying the legislature.

When he heard about the mandate, his reaction was mixed. "Everyone likes the idea of volunteering, but some people think of mandated volunteerism as a contradiction in terms," he said.

Mr. Piper says although most Maryland schools thought the mandate would be costly and cumbersome, local planning could make programs work. "People are gradually turning back to their community," he says.

Michel: Clinton Can Win on Income Tax

WASHINGTON

WHEN the Clinton administration's deficit-reduction plan - in whatever final form it takes - passes the Congress, what will the president need to get to say he's achieved something?

House minority leader Robert Michel (R) of Illinois, speaking at a Monitor breakfast yesterday, pointed to the increase in the marginal tax rate. The top income-tax bracket now is 33 percent, but President Clinton wants to raise it. His proposed hike already has been bargained down to 35.5 percent and may go down to 35 percent by the time the bill reaches the House of Representatives floor today.

But with all the fierce debate over the proposed energy tax and efforts to curtail spending on entitlements, some increase in the top tax rate seems likely to go through.

"There's significant revenue coming in there," says Mr. Michel, speaking on the eve of the vote

in the House of Representatives. "That's one, rightly or wrongly, that the president was banging away on, and if he wins on part of that, he can say, 'Hey, look what I got done.'"

Michel surmises that if the president had kept the highest tax rate at its current level, Mr. Clinton would have had a much easier time in his efforts to raise other taxes.

"If he had said, 'I will not raise marginal tax rates! Read my lips!,' he would have been in a heck of a lot better shape, because I always thought that was one of the great things we did in Republican administration: Nobody pays more than a third to government...," the House Republican leader said.

"Then around the edges you could do these other things, or still raise some taxes if you thought you needed them, whether it's the gas tax or something embodied in part of that energy tax. But when you raise marginal rates and start moving the other way, then I'll say, 'Lock the door.'"

- Linda Feldmann

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*Boston's landmark program is under attack
for draining best students from urban schools*

Black Parents Resist Calls To End Voluntary Busing

By Laurel Shaper Walters

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

PARIS WILKEY, a 16-year-old high school sophomore, gets up at 6:15 every weekday morning and rides a school bus from his home in the Roxbury section of Boston to suburban Newton North High School.

"It's very dangerous and hard to get an education where I live," Paris says. "You always have to watch your back."

Paris and more than 3,000 other Boston students like him are part of a voluntary busing program that has been used to integrate the city's minority urban students with white suburban students for nearly three decades.

When the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity, known as the METCO program, began in 1966, it was the first voluntary school desegregation program in the United States. This was well before the tumult of court-ordered busing gripped Boston in 1974.

Participation in METCO is voluntary for both the students and the suburban schools; the state reimburses suburban districts for the cost of educating Boston students.

The program is so popular that 7,500 students are on the wait list. The state cannot fund any more than 3,300 participants.

Paris's mother, Karen Granger, put her son on the METCO wait list when he was six months old. Many mothers, such as Voncille Cherrie, sign their children up before they are even born. "You have to start early," says Ms. Cherrie, whose son, Phillip, is now in sixth grade and has participated in METCO since kindergarten.

In spite of its popularity with urban families, an aide to Mayor Raymond Flynn called for a phase-out of the METCO program last week. The aide, Theodore Landsmark, charged that METCO robs the city's schools of the most motivated minority students and parents.

"We cannot hope to improve the quality of our neighborhood's schools without the participation of active parents whose upwardly mobile aspirations for their children are an essential ingredient in an improved learning environment," Mr. Landsmark says.

Parental participation

Yet there is no research to suggest that parents who choose to participate in voluntary busing programs are more motivated or supportive than other parents.

"The research that has been done shows that it is quite a cross section of children [that participate in voluntary busing]," says Gary Orfield, a professor of education at Harvard University. "Certainly, these parents are organized enough and interested

enough to get connected to the program in some way. But it doesn't tend to be a really elite population."

METCO administrators say the program should be expanded rather than phased out since voluntary educational desegregation is still needed. "Boston may, in fact, have become more racially segregated," says Sandra Vaughn, associate director of the program. Minority students now make up 80 percent of the city's school system.

"The METCO program was founded to ensure that all students, urban and suburban, have the best integrated educational opportunities," says Jean McGuire, executive director of METCO. "There is an implication in Landsmark's statements that some parents and children are more worthy than others.... Is the intention to turn back the clock of democracy?"

Cornisha Cherrie is one of many METCO success stories. She grew up in Roxbury but started attending suburban schools in third grade. "The environments are totally opposite," says Cornisha, who has just finished her junior year at Tuskegee University in Alabama. "I got the care that I needed as far as my education is concerned. The [suburban] teachers really take the initiative to make sure that you are learning."

Cornisha plans to become a doctor and return to work in the



DAILY RIDE: Sixteen-year-old Paris Wilkey commutes from the city to a suburban district through the METCO program. To secure a space, his mother signed him onto the lengthy waiting list when he was six months old.

minority neighborhoods of Boston. "METCO gave me that background and support that I needed to go on and then come back and help my community," she says.

Getting rid of METCO "would be a grave injustice to the children who are entitled to the best public education that they can receive," says Voncille Cherrie, mother of both Cornisha and sixth-grader Phillip. "If they abolish this program, it's not going to change anything for the kids who are not motivated and don't want to learn. If anything, it would have a negative effect on our children who are already motivated." Despite the individual successes, there have been tensions between METCO participants and suburbanites. Some METCO students have encountered racism in the suburban schools.

"The racism in Newton bothers me," says Paris. "I've had a couple of incidents with the kids in school. But I just have to deal with it. If I go back to a Boston school now, I know I won't get anything done whatsoever."

For suburban students and parents, there have been some uneasy adjustments and accommodations.

"We all made a very conscious attempt to welcome the METCO students and to make the program successful," says Selma Mirsky, whose two children went through Newton schools and became friends with some of the METCO students from Boston.

But when problems came up, racial sensitivity made it difficult to suggest improvements in the program, Mrs. Mirsky says. "Even

if we assessed the mechanics of the program as objectively as possible, we were considered racist," she says. "You could not criticize the way things were going in any way."

In spite of this, Mirsky doesn't think METCO should be phased out. "To stop it and not replace it with something else would be very sad," she says.

But abolishing METCO might not bring many students back into the Boston school system in the long run.

Many parents now in the program say the city system is hopelessly stagnant and offers no hope for their children.

"I just get so tired of it," Voncille Cherrie says. "Nothing ever happens. The representatives that are supposed to be representing us - the people - sit around the table and talk about the same thing over and over again. Nothing ever gets off the table."

Private school option

For Paris, returning to Boston schools is not an option. He plans to attend college after he graduates from high school and has no intention of jeopardizing that goal to help improve his neighborhood school.

"There's no possible way that we [METCO students] could change that school," he says. "It's the kids there and their parents that have to change. A lot of them just don't care."

"If they did phase METCO out, Paris would end up in private school," his mother says. "I've talked to other parents and they've said the same thing."

Milwaukee Busing Plan Is Also on the Line

BOSTON

BOSTON is not the only city debating the merits of its voluntary school busing plan.

Milwaukee's Chapter 220 program, which began busing students between the city and its suburbs in 1976, may lose its state funding within two years. Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson (R) has proposed an end to Chapter 220 unless the legislature votes to renew it.

The program currently buses about 6,700 students. Nearly 900 are white suburban students coming into the city schools. The rest are urban minority students attending suburban schools.

Although Wisconsin taxpayers have spent more than \$400 million on Chapter 220 in the past 16 years, there has never been a comprehensive analysis of academic achievement for students in the program, says Charles Sykes, a senior fellow at the Wisconsin Policy Research

Institute.

Mr. Sykes questions the educational merits of Chapter 220. The main goal of the program, he writes in the current issue of "Wisconsin Interest," is "the shift of tax dollars from state taxpayers to Milwaukee-area school districts."

But those in favor of continuing the program argue that voluntary busing is far better than court-ordered desegregation programs.

Some say voluntary busing also helps minority families who want to live in the city stay there without jeopardizing their children's education.

"What you're doing in a way is allowing middle-class black families to stay in the city and to have a suburban education at the same time," says Gary Orfield, a professor of education at Harvard University. "If they were forced to choose ..., they might move to the suburbs instead. That would be a serious loss to the city."

- L. E. W.

GUATEMALA from page 1

responsible" legislators and corruption and party politics in the judicial branch, the country had become "impossible to govern."

Two members of Serrano's Cabinet resigned immediately. Labor Minister Mario Solórzano said, "We are against corruption too. But it won't be solved by destroying the institutions we've labored to build."

After escaping house arrest, Guatemala's congressionally appointed human rights ombudsman, Jorge Ramiro de Leon lambasted Serrano's actions as "illegal and immoral." He warned the Guatemalan public to respond quickly, because "it may be the last opportunity we have to restore the democratic process."

SERRANO'S actions parallel those of Peru's President Alberto Fujimori, who seized power last year in a similar way.

Serrano made his moves after weeks of strikes and street protests over large hikes in electricity prices and a dispute with students over public transport.

Rumors of a military coup have circulated for months. On May 21 Serrano announced the creation of a special anti-riot squad to act against dissidents. The same day, 10,000 people marched peacefully throughout the city, some carrying signs calling for Serrano's resignation.

But Serrano has suspended the rules of democracy with far less justification than Fujimori, says David Scott Palmer, director of Boston University's Latin American studies program.

"Fujimori faced a guerrilla movement on the brink of taking over, an annual inflation rate of 2,600 percent, and an extremely corrupt judiciary that simply wasn't functioning," Mr. Palmer says. "Serrano may be using the Fujimori example without having exhausted less drastic al-

ternatives. It's a dangerous precedent," he adds.

Analysts say that by holding new elections, Serrano can strengthen his party's position in the legislature. The three-party congressional alliance he needed to get laws passed dissolved a month ago.

But on May 9, his party did unexpectedly well in municipal elections, winning 103 of 267 contested districts.

Dissolving the judiciary is a gesture designed to mollify the military, some observers here say. For the first time, several Guatemalan officers have been convicted of human rights abuses and sentenced to prison terms.

A thorn in the sides of the military and Serrano, human rights ombudsman De Leon recently won a court decision stating that the government's electricity hike violated citizens' human rights. His job also often puts him in the position of criticizing Army actions. And he is considered a presidential contender in the 1995 elections.

Serrano says it is "absolutely false" that he intended to fire or suspend the activities of De Leon, as implied in his national address. Nonetheless, police attempted to place De Leon under house arrest on Tuesday.

Serrano says the Guatemalan Army has no role in the suspension of democratic rule, and the Army has kept a low profile. In some locations, police have taken up posts normally occupied by soldiers. One political analyst here says the Army wants Serrano's action to be seen as a civilian coup, so if it fails, the public will welcome military rule.

The capital city remained quiet yesterday morning. Street vendor Manuel Lopez said with a shrug, "Most of my customers do not understand what this means. Some are afraid it will hurt tourism. I hope it means the government is getting tougher on crime."

INSLEE from page 1

Democrats to be courted by Clinton, by majority leader Gephardt, and by House Speaker Thomas Foley.

At 1 p.m., after a quick bowl of chili, Inslee was ready for a meeting with his staff, a phone call from the White House, and an impromptu interview with a newspaper reporter. At 2 p.m. he raced from his office to the Capitol to vote, then had another newspaper interview.

By late afternoon, after more votes on the House floor, he was back at a strategy conference with antitax Democrats. Finally, there was another meeting with top White House people, including Leon Panetta, director of the Office of Management and Budget.

"It's the best of times, and it's the worst of times," says Inslee, paraphrasing Dickens. "It's the best time to be here because we can actually effect change. It's also the toughest time."

Like many congressmen, Inslee, as a good Democrat, wants to support Clinton. But he is getting a strong message from home: Cut spending before you raise taxes. Clinton would do both

simultaneously.

Inslee says: "People have consistently told me, 'We will accept taxes, if we have to, if, one, you have first scrubbed the federal budget as much as you can and made as many cuts as you believe you can without damaging essential government services. And, two, if it truly reduces the deficit.' " He concludes: "I think we can try a little more scrubbing. That's what it boils down to."

Such candor isn't always popular, even at home. Ross Anderson, writing in the Seattle Times, notes that in March Inslee ruffled some voters in a town meeting when he said:

"The federal deficit is so big, more than \$300 billion, that we could fire every federal employee ... and we'd still have a federal deficit in the billions." Where's the extra money going? Entitlements like Social Security and Medicare.

Now Clinton is hearing the same message. For example, Inslee suggests there's no reason to subsidize Medicare for the rich.

Sometimes this tough talk draws criticism. But Inslee pushes on. "Whenever I get in trouble, I just call my mother," he says. "She says, 'Things are fine. You're doing a great job.' "

BALKANS from page 1

two years of US and United Nations diplomacy, however, is surely that the West is living in a different era of history than Belgrade and Zagreb and Sarajevo.

Underlying the US official's retelling of his dinner anecdote was a sense of resignation. Along with other US policymakers, he is well aware that nationalistic Balkans leaders invoke ancient feuds to solidify their domestic positions.

But if Serb strongman Slobodan Milosevic and his ilk are to cling to their nationalist hurts, either through cynical manipulation or real belief, what's a pragmatic US policymaker to do?

The gulf of understanding, of how Balkans figures will react to diplomatic offers and counteroffers, is simply too wide. "I've just been struck by the emotion of this thing," said the US official.

In retrospect, mistakes of diplomacy at least partly caused by this cultural gulf can be readily identified. Delay and missteps by the Bush administration, after all, are one reason that the Clinton White House has faced nothing but bad options for its own Balkans policies.

Bush officials clung too long to the belief that today, in Europe, it was close to unthinkable that neighbors would take up arms against each other.

In June 1991, as separatist passions in Yugoslavia neared the boiling point, Secretary of State James Baker III traveled to Belgrade and told Yugoslavs that the status quo should be maintained. Differences should be resolved peacefully within the context of a unitary state, Mr. Baker said.

Instead of heeding this warning, the Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence shortly thereafter.

The Serb-dominated Yugoslav army then interpreted the US position in a way the administration never intended. Believing it had

tacit US support, the army invaded Slovenia to try to keep the Yugoslav confederation together by force.

There were indigenous reasons for the beginning of fighting, of course. But as the world watched in horror, war bloomed. Slovenia mounted a successful resistance. The bloodied Yugoslav army withdrew - and turned its attention to Croatia.

Then came what was perhaps another mistake by the West. At the urging of some European nations, diplomatic recognition was

The fundamental problem may be that the West has tried to deal with Balkans leaders as if they are typical 20th-century European politicians.

accorded the separatist Yugoslav republics in January 1992. Western nations thought this move was the equivalent of hanging a "hands off" sign on Croatia and Bosnia.

Serbs took a more primitive view of the move. Inflamed that the breakup of their nation was being legitimized, they gambled that the West didn't care enough to enforce its warning. As fighting flared in Bosnia, they were proved right.

Throughout 1992, the Bush administration exercised caution in its Balkans moves. US officials insisted that the US had no direct national interests in the region, and that the problem should be left to Europeans to handle.

This attitude was only reinforced by advice from the Pentagon, which continued to argue that massive force would be needed to settle the Bosnian conflict.

Even as President Clinton has contemplated using force, US military leaders continue to worry

that Bosnia could turn into a tar baby. Some 75,000 Western troops might have to be stationed in Bosnia for a decade to enforce a peace plan, Gen. John Galvin, former commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, told Congress on May 25. "Are we willing to contemplate that?" General Galvin asked.

The fundamental problem may be that the US and Europe have tried to deal with Balkans leaders, and particularly Serb strongman Milosevic, as if they are typical 20th-century European politicians. Economic sanctions, arms embargoes, stiff diplomatic notes - all have been invoked without a credible threat of force behind them.

It's no accident that Milosevic underwent a change of heart and began backing a Balkans peace plan during the brief interregnum when it appeared President Clinton would order air strikes on Serbian targets, says Dr. Terry Deibel, a professor of security policy at the Pentagon's National War College.

The problem is that this saberrattling should have occurred a year earlier than it did. Serb gains mean that in effect they have won the Bosnian war. "It's too late now," Dr. Deibel says.

In the end the Clinton administration decided that relations with European allies were more important than its "lift and strike" plan for bombing Serb positions and ending the arms embargo on Bosnian Muslims. At allied urging, the US dropped its more forceful approach for the "safe havens" concept of defending Muslim refugees gathered in six areas in eastern Bosnia.

It's easy for US policymakers to scoff at Europeans as wimpy on Bosnia. The other view is that the Europeans understand how the depth and complexities of Balkans hatreds make no solution an easy one. "Some of them understand the Balkans better than we do," Deibel points out.

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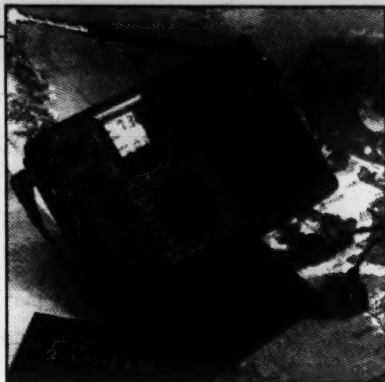
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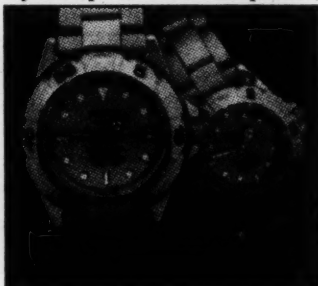
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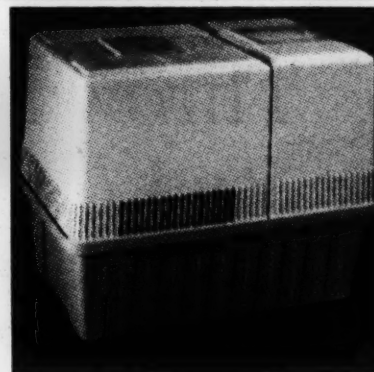
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JAPANESE REACTION

Cultural Differences
Thrown Into Relief
By Louisiana Case

By Clayton Jones

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

THE acquittal by an American jury of a Louisiana man who shot and killed a Japanese student has drawn a widespread, self-comforting reaction among the Japanese: "Yes, we really are a different people."

While crime has risen in Japan, including the use of guns, the shooting of 16-year-old Yoshihiro Hattori last October in Baton Rouge, La., and the acquittal last Sunday of the gunman, Rodney Peairs, has been portrayed in Japanese media as a stark contrast of the two societies.

"The Japanese have a fear of other races, and it's become more real as more foreigners come to this country and more Japanese travel abroad. This incident reinforces the message: watch out for foreigners," says Nori Kashiwaya, a Japanese sociologist with an advanced degree from Cornell University.

The 12-person jury in a Louisiana courtroom accepted Mr. Peairs's claim that he mistook Hattori as an intruder into his home and shot him with a .44 Magnum pistol from his doorway in self-defense. But the young exchange student had the wrong address for a Halloween party and failed to understand the gunman's English when he yelled "freeze" to the boy.

When the killing was first reported on Japanese television last fall, viewers were advised of the necessity to better understand American idioms such as "freeze" when they travel. Only later did Japanese media begin to focus on how the lack of gun control in the US has raised the level of violence.

"There was deep sorrow over a boy who was a victim because he couldn't understand enough English to understand the command," says Mr. Kashiwaya.

The circumstances of the killing have reinforced Japan's image of the United States as a gun-toting society whose judicial system tolerates a loose definition of self-defense. "The trial did a good deal to expose the true nature of guns in American society," the victim's mother, Mieko Hattori, wrote to Mainichi newspaper.

IN contrast to the US, Japan outlaws gun ownership and gun-deaths are a rarity. That image of a safe Japan, however, has been tarnished recently as the Japanese underground, the *yakuza*, has imported more guns. And a former leading politician, Shin Kanemaru, was shot at by an assailant in 1991, while another gunman was caught last year trying to enter the home of Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa.

"It is disgusting that we should continue to take for granted a gun dependency in the US," stated a Yomiuri newspaper editorial. "But the Japanese should also not be indifferent to the fact that crimes in which guns are used are increasing in this country."

Some Japanese media reported that the Louisiana verdict was widely welcomed by Americans who defend the right to shoot intruders. Others noted that gun ownership was common in Peairs's working-class neighborhood and that Louisiana law is particularly lenient in defining self-defense.

Masao Horibe, professor of American law at Hitotsubashi University in Tokyo warned Japanese to remember that Japan and the US are different, and that Japanese should not try to maintain their life-style while living abroad or else risk running into trouble. Another commentator, Kaname Saury, professor of American history at Tokyo Women's Christian University, noted that the verdict shows that the US, being only 200 years old, is still partly a developing country.

"Japanese will become more cautious in traveling to the US," says Kashiwaya. "Parents will think twice about sending their children overseas to study."

The victim's mother has collected 1.6 million signatures in Japan asking for gun control in the US. She hopes to collect 2 million by the time of her son's birthday on Nov. 22 and present them to President Clinton. The date is the same as the assassination of President John Kennedy in 1963.

INTERNATIONAL

S. Africa's Talks Disrupted
By Detention of Militants*Crackdown widens ruling party divisions between hawks and doves*

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

A NATIONWIDE police crackdown on the leadership of the radical Pan-Africanist Congress has disrupted multiracial talks for a transition to democracy and jeopardized a June deadline for setting a date for the country's first democratic ballot.

PAC President Clarence Makhewu said yesterday that his party would not continue to take part in the negotiations unless the government freed 62 PAC leaders still in custody, restored seized property, and repaired damage incurred in the raids.

The crackdown, coming at a time of escalating township violence, has shaken confidence in the 26-member Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and widened divisions between hawks and doves in the ruling National Party.

"One cannot escape the conclusion that elements in government carefully planned the timing of this swoop to ensure maximum impact in demonstrating who is in control and [to ensure] that terrorism will not be tolerated - even if it means jeopardizing negotiations," said a Western diplomat.

The simultaneous crackdown on PAC officials around the country early Tuesday morning and the forced entry into PAC premises bore all the hallmarks of security operations at the height of the apartheid era.

Police swooped in on senior members of the PAC and alleged officials of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), arresting 73. The operation was the most extensive crackdown on a black opposition group since the United Demo-

cratic Front and other anti-apartheid groups were banned in February 1988. It followed four days of renewed violence in the black townships east of Johannesburg that has already claimed more than 50 lives.

Yesterday police released 11 of the arrested officials, including one of seven detained PAC executives.

Most of the 26 parties at the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum supported a resolution that criticized the government for the "insensitive" timing of the raids and the potential damage it could inflict on the negotiating process.

But Gen. Constand Viljoen, a former chief of the South African Defense Force who now heads a right-wing umbrella group, the Afrikaner Volksfront, welcomed the raids. "If this is a move to ensure more peace as we have recommended ... it is a step in the right direction," General Viljoen said.

The timing of the raid, which was not approved by the Cabinet in advance, appears to have widened a split in the National Party. It emerged Tuesday that the Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who heads the government negotiating team, had no prior knowledge of the raids.

A parliamentary legislator, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said President Frederik de Klerk had told him that he had first known about the raids only after they had already begun.

Mr. De Klerk was locked in all-day discussions with members of his Cabinet yesterday in what was expected to be a stormy session after the African National Congress demanded the sacking of Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel in response to the raid.

ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said the raid was a

"travesty of justice" which had left the negotiations "hanging by a thread."

He said it also raised questions as to who was controlling the country - the politicians or the security officials?

In the aftermath of the crackdown, the PAC, which in the past has failed to translate widespread sympathy among radical blacks into a significant increase in membership, has already received a huge propaganda boost.

But PAC General Secretary Benny Alexander, who says he escaped from the police and disputes their claim that he was released after questioning, said that the raid had rendered the organization unworkable.

"We are effectively banned from functioning," he said.

PAC Foreign Secretary Gora Ebrahim slammed the government for its "Gestapo-like tactics" and said the action appeared directed at forcing the PAC out of negotiations when the most important decisions about the future were about to be taken.

PAC leaders appear to have accepted that a long-term withdrawal from the negotiating forum would play into the hands of right-wing elements in government who want to delay the process so that a newly-formed right-wing front can formulate a united position and table its proposals at the negotiating table.

The PAC, which has continued to wage an armed struggle against security personnel and white farmers while taking part in negotiations, has focused its political campaign on the return of land to the black majority.

Police said the arrest of PAC and APLA officials around the country was part of routine police duties in preventing crime and did not constitute an orchestrated attack on a political organization.

Amnesty Accuses Egypt of Rights Violations

CAIRO

AMNESTY International accused Egypt yesterday of torture, summary executions, and other gross human rights violations against suspected Muslim extremists.

The scathing attack on Egypt's human rights record accused authorities of long-term detention without charge, using confessions

extracted by torture, mass arrests, and denial of prisoners' visitation rights.

The Amnesty report covered 12 months and coincided with a major escalation in violence by Muslim extremists that began last May. The attacks have threatened Egypt's lucrative tourism industry.

The pro-Western government of President Hosni Mubarak de-

nies that torture is systematically used but acknowledges individual cases. Late last year Mr. Mubarak started referring Muslim militant cases to military courts to ensure speedier trials. That decision followed the government decision to extend capital punishment to cover several crimes involving leadership of terror organizations.

- Associated Press

Amid More Criticism, NATO Ministers Differ Over Safe-Haven Plan

By Alexander MacLeod

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

THE nations working to ease the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina are hoping to achieve momentum toward a political settlement by throwing their earlier diplomatic priorities into reverse.

Malcolm Rifkind, Britain's defense secretary, spelled out on Tuesday what he called a "determined new strategy" amid criticism that the new policy of creating "safe havens" for Bosnian Muslims allows the Bosnian Serbs to consolidate territorial conquests.

The safe-haven strategy was hammered out in Washington over the weekend by the US, Russia, Britain, France, and Spain.

Mr. Rifkind, speaking at a meeting of NATO defense ministers in Brussels this week, appeared to be reflecting the views of most NATO governments when he argued that the allies' initial idea of first achieving a political settlement based on the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia, and then proceeding to a cease-fire, had proved unworkable and that a new line of approach was needed.

"We are now determined to obtain a cease-fire first and build on that to get a long-term political solution," he said.

Key elements in the new ap-

proach are the deployment of troops to protect safe areas for Muslims, a further tightening of sanctions against Serbia, and new steps to prevent fighting spreading to other parts of the Balkans.

Although NATO endorses the main lines of the cease-fire-before-settlement approach, sharp differences between the allies at the Brussels meeting were never far beneath the surface.

France, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United States supported the strategy. But Volker Ruhe, German defense minister, complained that the revised plan "legitimizes Serbian gains."

More complaints

"The expulsion of Bosnian Muslims must not be allowed to last, and must not be sanctioned by drawing new frontiers," he said.

Fabio Fabbri, Italy's defense minister, complained that most European governments had not been consulted before the new plan was adopted.

There were doubts whether Lord David Owen, the European Community peace mediator for former Yugoslavia, would continue for much longer in that role. A source close to Lord Owen said he had been dismayed by new arrangements which "paid only lip service to the Vance-Owen plan."

The allied strategy switch has evoked widespread condemnation among supporters of the Bosnian Muslim cause. Zaki Badawi, a leading Muslim spokesman in



'SNIPER ALLEY': A man walks in Sarajevo after buying a can of oil donated by the European Community. But Muslims in Europe are renewing criticism of the EC for abandoning the Bosnian Muslims.

Britain, accused European governments of "failing in their moral duty" to the Bosnian Muslims. He said responsibility for "betraying" them lay not with the Clinton administration, but with the EC.

"The Europeans are in the process of turning the Bosnian Muslims into refugees in their own country," he said. "Like the Palestinians, the young people will be frustrated because they lack opportunities. They will be forced into taking action."

Dr. Badawi, principal of the Muslim College in London, said the new NATO plan "makes 'ethnic cleansing' respectable" and sets a dangerous precedent.

In an apparent attempt to underline the determined character of the revised strategy in Bosnia, Britain, along with Turkey and the Netherlands, has offered to provide warplanes to police the six Muslim safe areas, including Sarajevo, proposed under the Washington agreement.

France is spearheading moves at the United Nations to obtain Security Council backing for a policy of using force to protect Muslims in the designated areas. But at the UN, a statement by 51 Islamic nations said that the Washington plan "appears to accept the status quo imposed by the use of force and ethnic cleansing."

'Early stage'

A British government source conceded that the new strategy was at an "early stage." There was debate, the source said, over how many troops would be needed to implement it. The British view is that some 40,000 troops in UN blue berets would be required. But Rifkind has ruled out any increase in the size of the 2500-strong British force in Bosnia.

Owen, who embarked on a series of meetings with EC governments when the new allied strategy was decided, is being urged

to stay on as EC mediator. Douglas Hurd, Britain's foreign secretary, says the Vance-Owen plan and the safe haven approach "can be brought together, over time."

He has received support for this view from Cedric Thornberry, deputy head of the UN peace force in former Yugoslavia, who said, "There is a need to get ceasefires, and then begin to make political moves based on a more stable situation."

He added that once a "political dynamic on the ground" is introduced into peace moves, "all kinds of things become possible" as the parties to the conflict "become less rigid." He forecast a "bit by bit, step by step" approach.

British government insistence that the revised strategy is justifiable has drawn severe criticism from the opposition Labour Party. George Robertson, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman, called it "pathetically weak."

UN, Heeding China, Keeps a Dissident Out

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

ONLY two weeks before the United Nations hosts a major conference in Vienna on human rights, the world organization itself has raised some eyebrows.

Under pressure from the People's Republic of China, the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this week prevented the United Nations Correspondents Association (UNCA) from hosting a press conference with Chinese dissident Shen Tong at the UNCA club, which is located within the UN building. Joseph Sills, the chief spokesman for the secretary-general, said the Chinese had asked that Mr. Shen's press conference not be held inside UN headquarters.

Although Mr. Boutros-Ghali had offered an alternative site in a building across from UN headquarters, UNCA tried to hold the press conference inside the building anyway. Security guards prevented television cameras from entering the building and Shen decided to hold the press conference on the sidewalk outside the UN.

Shen said he was not surprised that the Chinese government would try to block him. Shen was one of the leaders during the pro-democracy movement in 1989. "What surprises me," he said in his press conference, "is the secretary-general's response to this member country's pressure."

Boutros-Ghali's response was also a surprise to UNCA, which has hosted dissidents throughout

its 40-year history. UNCA members have listened to former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Irish dissident Bernadette Devlin and Iranian and Iraqi dissidents. What worries Joe Luria, of UNCA's executive committee, is that "other governments may feel it is easy to block people they don't want here," he says.

The Chinese pressure on Shen comes at a sensitive time with its relations with the US as well. Clinton administration advisers have reportedly proposed renewing China's most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status for another year but want to see human rights improvements before future renewals. Shen says the US should only renew MFN if human rights conditions can be attached now.

— Ron Scherer

SIXTH RELEASE THIS YEAR

Beijing Frees Political Foe

BEIJING

CHINA released one of its longest-held political prisoners yesterday on the eve of a US decision on whether to levy trade sanctions to press for human rights improvements.

Dissident Xu Wenli was released from a Beijing prison after serving 12 years of a 15-year sentence. In high spirits, Mr. Xu declined to speculate on why he was freed. Xu, the editor of an underground pro-democracy magazine, was arrested in 1981 during Deng Xiaoping's first crackdown on dissent. Western governments and international human rights groups have long appealed for his release.

Xu is the sixth political prisoner given early release this year as China tries to avert trade restrictions by the US and win its bid to stage the 2000 Olympics. United States officials say President Clinton will extend China's most-favored-nation trading status for the coming year but make further renewals conditional on improvements in human rights.

— Associated Press

Gas Lines A Good Sign? Only in Moscow

MOSCOW

LINES are nothing new at gas pumps here. But in the past few days the queues have grown by a quantum leap, snaking up to a half-mile.

In the United States, lines would be a sign of economic turmoil, conjuring up memories of the 1973 Arab oil embargo. But in Russia, with its abundant energy resources, the long gas lines hint that the country is getting its economic act together.

Two measures recently announced by the Russian government potentially could mark the turning point in the nation's economic recovery.

On Tuesday, President Boris Yeltsin's press service said a price freeze on fuel products would be repealed. That announcement followed what leading reformers termed an "historic" agreement Saturday between the government and the Central Bank to restrict the provision of state credits to industry.

Full implementation of the measures would help the government overcome some major reform obstacles, including controlling skyrocketing inflation. But, in the case of the government-Central Bank agreement, few expect the pact to hold.

"We'll see in the next two weeks if the bank plans to take decisive action," a skeptical Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fyodorov told a news conference. Mr. Fyodorov has been an outspoken critic of Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko. Fyodorov maintains that the bank's provision of massive credits to struggling state enterprises is fueling inflation, estimated at 17 percent in April.

Under the pact, the government and the bank, which has been subordinate to the conservative parliament, will formulate a credit policy aimed at reducing monthly inflation to less than 10 percent by year's end.

The agreement paves the way for a \$3 billion International Monetary Fund loan to Russia.

Subsidized energy prices, meanwhile, have been a stumbling block to reform because they encourage waste and inefficiency, economists say. Mr. Yeltsin's price liberalization allows Russian energy prices to move toward world levels. Energy currently costs 60 percent of world prices. Rumors that gasoline prices will double - from 45 to 90 rubles (4.5 to 9 cents) per liter - have caused the long gas lines.

Last month, Yeltsin ordered a price freeze on energy (at March 1 levels) in an admittedly political move on the eve of the national referendum. Retreating on his price-freeze pledge is already costing him political capital.

"What kind of idiots do the authorities take citizens to be?" Vitaly Marsov wrote in the *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* daily.

- Justin Burke

ECONOMY

As the nation's population of Hispanics expands rapidly, food that is familiar and reminds them of home is selling well

Goya Grows, Seeks New Markets

By David C. Walters

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SECAUCUS, N.J.

FOR many Americans, the "wall of yellow" that marks the Hispanic section at the grocery store is still uncharted territory.

But that will not be the case for long if Joseph Unanue, president of Goya Foods Inc., has anything to do with it.

Goya Foods, founded by Mr. Unanue's father in 1936, has grown rapidly in recent years. Despite the recession, Goya's sales increased from \$330 million in 1990 to \$410 million in 1991. Sales jumped again last year to \$453 million, making Goya the nation's largest Hispanic-owned firm, according to *Hispanic Business* magazine.

"This is Goya's year," says Hector Cantu, deputy managing editor of *Hispanic Business*. "They are really doing a good job expanding across the country."

Unanue (pronounced u-NAH-nu-way) projects that Goya will do \$1 billion in business by the "turn of the millenium." "We will also be better known," he says.

"We're trying to target the general market," says Robert Unanue, a vice president and Joseph Unanue's nephew. "We're doing more advertising in English to catch third- and fourth-generation Hispanics and also to go after the Anglo market."

Since 1980, the buying power of Hispanics in the United States has tripled to about \$200 billion.

DRI/McGraw-Hill, a consulting firm, projects that the Hispanic population will grow 41 percent this decade compared with a 5 percent increase for everyone else. Hispanics will become the dominant



JOSEPH UNANUE: A son of Goya's founder, he has kept the family business on an even keel despite pressures of rapid expansion.

minority by 2015, outnumbering blacks.

A walk through Goya's bustling warehouse and bean-packing plant brings several surprises to the uninitiated: It turns out that beans are canned, then cooked, rather than the other way around. Goya makes its own cans, prints its own boxes, and aims to control every aspect of production to maintain high quality.

But service has been the primary focus for Goya's 1,800 employees recently. The company has added four new distribution facilities in Chicago, Houston, Webster, Mass., and West Deptford, N.J.

"When you can guarantee next-day delivery to the supermarkets, you are ahead of everybody," says Conrad Colon, executive vice president and director of marketing. "Soon after we expanded into these new markets, we extended our sales force as well."

During a recession, many firms trim ad-

R. NORMAN MATHENY - STAFF



SECAUCUS, N.J.: Flor Madera works in a Goya packing plant located at company headquarters. Goya also has production facilities in Spain, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic.

vertising budgets to bolster profits. Goya has not followed that pattern. "We've been increasing our advertising," Robert Unanue says. Without as much advertising clutter, it is easier to get the message across, he says. Goya has been fine-tuning its advertising message to appeal to the diverse Hispanic market.

"The language has to be neutral," Mr. Colon says. "You have to take a little bit of each country and put it in the ad to get balanced for all nationalities."

The balancing act involves keeping up with the fast-changing ethnic makeup of neighborhoods. Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Argentinians all have different names for the same bean, Colon says. At least once each week, Goya's sales force visits each *bodega*, or neighborhood grocery store, to talk to the owner and customers. As neighborhoods change, Goya can adjust the product mix and the words on the packaging.

"We try to be out there with products that groups are familiar with, that remind them of home," Robert Unanue says.

Goya is creating a blizzard of new products to reach new markets and reclaim old ones. "We developed about 100 new items to replace items that were losing strength," Colon says. For example, Goya has sold canned *pasteles*, or meat pies, for more than 40 years. But second- and third-generation Hispanics stopped buying canned *pasteles*. So Goya came out with a frozen product. The result? "We recovered that market," Colon says. "We are selling now to a different generation, following their trends, habits, and assimilation."

Keeping a family-owned firm on an even keel is something the Unanues know a lot about. Goya is run by Joseph and his brother Francisco (president of Goya de Puerto Rico). Both are sons of founder Don Prudencio Unanue, who immigrated to New York from Spain via Puerto Rico. Eight third-generation Unanues work at Goya.

"When the kids were young, we'd bring them into work in the warehouse or in the packing room - not the glamorous jobs," Joseph Unanue says. "You have to work them up through the organization."

The old-fashioned work ethic still seems to be the standard for Goya employees, whether they are family or not. Robert Unanue says wryly that employees work half-days - meaning 12 hours out of 24.

"We teach them that if they want to get somewhere in the world, they have to work," Joseph Unanue says. "If they like it, they'll stay." Hard work has paid off for the Unanues, who are included in *Forbes* magazine's list of "great family fortunes" with a net worth of about \$400 million.

Conrad Colon, a 35-year Goya veteran but not a family member, says that "in many families, when a son goes to school and graduates from college, he comes into the business with a big title and starts running a department. Not here. It takes years of work before you get a title in this company. You have to earn it first."

Investors Take a Chance on Foreign Funds

By S. C. Llewellyn Leach

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

PLAYING the international stock markets used to be only for the astute and deep-pocketed. Now the burgeoning number of international mutual funds has brought both traditional overseas markets like Europe and Japan, as well as more exotic ones such as Poland, Morocco, and Indonesia, within reach of the average investor.

Ten years ago only a handful of international mutual funds — those which invest exclusively in overseas markets — were available. Today 200 such funds are offered — some single country funds, others more diversified.

Investment risks

The rewards of the international market can be great, but so can the risks. Japan-focused mutual funds, for instance, have grown almost 23 percent this year as Japanese stocks jumped 30 percent in value in anticipation of a major rebound in the economy. But the three-year return through May 20 on Japan funds was a dismal -12.8 percent, according to Lipper Analytical Services in Summit, N. J.

To listen to Lipper's president, Michael Lipper, explain the risks involved in international investing could make even the most adventurous wary. He lists currency risk, interest rate uncertainties, protectionism, political instability, commodity price risk, environmental risks. Many of these variables are also part of the investment environment in the United States. The difference, he says, is that people are more accustomed to dealing with them here.

Currency fluctuations are perhaps the greatest challenge. "Foreign currency is the bane of all foreign investors' existence," says Jim Hawks, president of

Eaton Vance's Greater China Growth Fund. "The volatility of currencies can totally swamp the underlying investment performance in the local market."

One of the more startling examples of this was the spectacular growth of the Brazil Fund, which rose 14,600 percent over a two-year period. As the Mutual Fund Forecaster points out, the gains were "all but wiped out by

concurrent losses in the value of the Brazilian cruzeiro."

Thus the dollar's value can make or break a foreign fund's earnings. In the early 1980s when the dollar was riding high, international funds earned only three-fifths as much as domestic ones. That was followed by three years of weak dollars when international funds soared past those invested in the US. Since 1988 the



dollar has been flat. If all three periods are combined, the average international fund rose 13.9 percent a year, while the average US fund rose 12.8 percent.

Some regions are less susceptible to currency changes. In the China region, currencies track the dollar more closely than in Western Europe or Japan.

Single country funds tend to be more volatile than regional funds. But even investing in broader geographical funds is no guarantee. In the 12 months through May 20, European funds dropped 6.56 percent while Latin American funds were down 14 percent.

China next to Japan. With growth last year around 12 percent and holding steady this year, China's economy will overtake its neighbor's by year-end and be second only to the US.

Boston-based Eaton Vance mutual fund company hopes to harness some of that potential with its Greater China Growth Fund. The six-month-old fund has 7 percent of its portfolio in Chinese stocks. The remainder is in companies around the region — Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan — with significant business interests in China. China's two securities exchanges each have about 18 companies listed. Few have track records and the accounting is not reliable, says Mr. Hawks, explaining the small amount invested in China itself.

Pioneer's new International Growth Fund takes a different tack. The six-week-old fund shuns indexes as guides and scopes out opportunities irrespective of market size. Although Japan comprises almost half the international market in terms of stock value, the fund holds no Japan stocks. Too expensive, says portfolio manager Norman Kurland.

Mr. Kurland urges investors to put 30 to 40 percent of their money overseas. "There's enormous risk to having all your stocks in the US market," he says.

Third-world funds

Some of the fastest growing funds are in the developing world. As third-world countries crawl out from under their debt burden and crank up economies, 6 or even 8 percent growth is not uncommon, particularly in Southeast Asia. The International Monetary Fund's recent recalculation of countries' economic size ranked

Government Prepares Germany For Tough Budget Cuts Ahead

By Francine Kiefer

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

IT is no wonder that German Finance Minister Theo Waigel wanted to trade his job in Bonn for the premiership of Bavaria in Munich.

Having lost the political contest in that state last week, he is now stuck with the unpleasant task of making major new cuts in the federal budget.

The special finance package that was supposed to pay for German unification — the so-called "solidarity pact," expected to be passed by the German Bundestag today — will be insufficient to do the job.

The reason is the worsening German economy, which analysts expect to contract by 2 percent this year. As the economy shrinks, so do tax revenues. The government predicts a shortfall of more

than 100 billion deutschmarks (\$61 billion) from now through 1996 — DM 25.8 billion (\$15.8 billion) for 1994 alone.

German unemployment is expected to hit 3.5 million this year and continue increasing next year. As people are laid off from their jobs, they pay fewer taxes, have less disposable income, and cost the state more in unemployment benefits.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl gave the first signal that it is time to tighten belts at a Cabinet meeting May 20, when he abruptly suspended planned pension increases for farmers' wives and told all his Cabinet members to prepare for "massive reductions" in their budgets.

Mr. Waigel has been repeating the austerity message, trying to get the public and lawmakers accustomed to the idea of harder times ahead. On Tuesday he announced that cuts of at least DM 20 billion (\$12.2 billion) will have to be made in the 1994 budget.

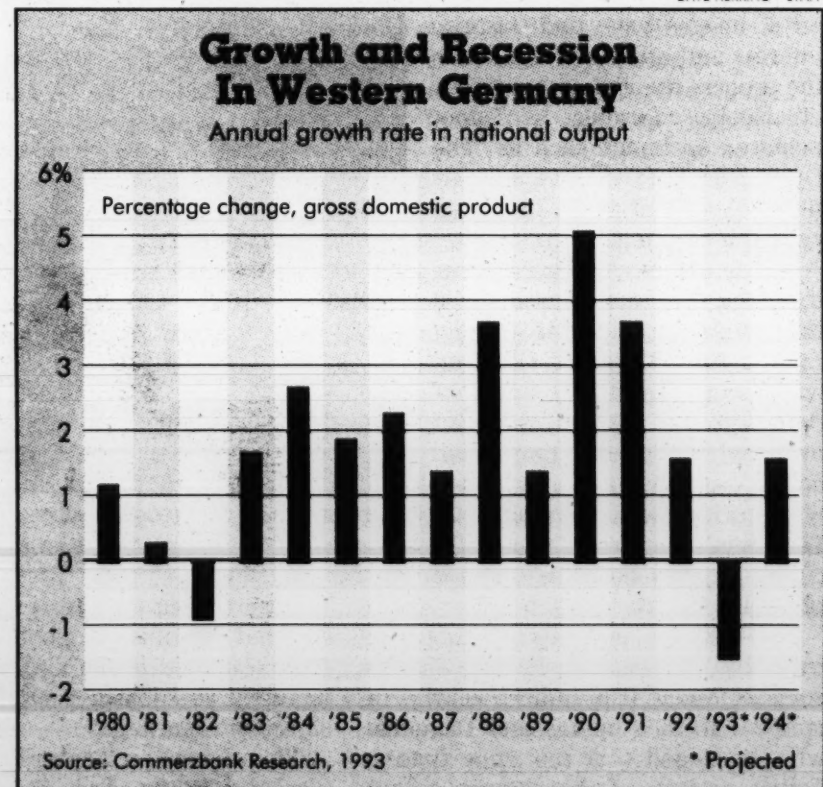
Waigel has ruled out an increase in public-sector borrowing or further tax increases to plug the deficit, which economists fear may turn into a structural deficit. Germans will already be paying 7.5 percent more income taxes in 1995 to pay for reunification.

That leaves no choice but to cut back federal spending, including social programs.

"A major political storm is brewing," comments Die Welt, a conservative daily newspaper, predicting that "it is primarily the social service budgets which will be affected."

Waigel is proposing the controversial measure of reducing unemployment benefits. This week Friedrich Ost, chairman of the economics committee in the Bundestag, suggested restructuring the country's pension system. Chancellor Kohl, however, immediately dismissed Mr. Ost's idea.

Details on cuts will be known by July 13, when Kohl's Cabinet



is scheduled to pass the new 1994 budget plan. Since the solidarity pact turned out to be a package of tax increases instead of significant sacrifices as originally conceived, political observers here are asking how the government will find the will to cut back spending.

Even as Waigel talks austerity, the government is working on a major health care plan for long-term hospital and nursing home care. Germans may have to give up two paid sick days a year to pay for it. Germany's unions have threatened to strike if this financing method is actually adopted.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Early Images Freeze Both History and Beauty

By Carol Strickland

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

A NEW art in an old civilization," a French chemist wrote in the 1830s, shortly after the invention of photography. An exhibition of 235 prints at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, called "The Waking Dream: Photography's First Century," showcases both this "new art" and "old civilization."

Throughout its history, photography has played the dual roles of expressing an artist's aesthetic vision and documenting the past. The photographer Minor White argued for the camera as an artist's tool when he said, "I don't take pictures, I make them." Photojournalist Robert Capa asserted the opposite view: "The pictures are there, and you just take them. The truth is the best picture...."

This exhibit should end the perennial debate. It makes clear that the force of truth and the finesse of art are by no means mutually exclusive.

From its infancy, photography has managed to combine realism and artifice. In the earliest works of William Henry Fox Talbot, the British inventor of the paper negative, images have both historic interest and artistic merit. When the process was little more than a chemical formula, Talbot achieved an image such as "The Open Door," (1843-44), as perfectly composed as a 17th-century Dutch painting.

When others were calling photography a mere mechanical trade or hobby, Victorian photographer Julia Margaret Cameron was among the first to stake out the territory of high art. "I longed to arrest all beauty that came before me," she said, intentionally capturing her famous subjects, Tennyson for example, in soft focus to express both the exterior physique and inner psyche.

The exhibit includes striking portraits by 19th-century French masters such as Nadar (the bohemian who inspired Puccini's opera) and Daguerre, who developed — at the same time as Talbot — a form of photography on polished metal plates. In contrast to the British photographs, which have a diffuse, gauzy quality due to fibers in the paper, daguerreotypes demonstrate an exactitude of fine detail that surpasses engraving.

Even the avowedly documentary pictures go beyond mere transcription. Timothy O'Sullivan's "Shoshoni" group portrait of native Americans straight-

forwardly records a vanishing breed. In addition, it uses a device from Renaissance art, clustering members of the tribe in a pyramidal composition under an inverted triangle of two diagonal poles that, ironically, bear the United States flag.

Some of these historical scenes are important precisely because of their powerful content rather than conscious design. "Emancipated Slaves" is a harrowing portrait of a freed slave whose forehead is branded with his former owner's initials.

This exhibition from the most important private collection of early prints includes illustrious names in the first century of photography, from Civil War documentarian Mathew Brady to 20th-century masters like Edward Steichen, Alfred Stieglitz, and Edward Weston.



'ALICE LIDDELL AS "THE BEGGAR MAID"': Lewis Carroll's friend inspired 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.'

After the turn of the century, the bifurcated streams of photography became a torrent in the direction of photography as subjective art rather than objective reporting.

Pictorialists on display here, such as Clarence White and Steichen, consciously emulated the grand tradition of Salon painting with their misty landscapes and moody portraits. Narrative content took a back seat to carefully constructed tableaux enhanced by dark-room manipulation for expressive effect. The photographer-as-poet dominated the shutterbug-as-stenographer, firmly establishing the medium as a fine art.

The collection also demonstrates how, in the 1920s, photography moved to the forefront of avant-garde art. Dadaist Man Ray placed objects on sensitized paper to produce Cubist-inspired photograms, László Moholy-Nagy reduced images to Bauhaus essentials, and Alexander Rodchenko emphasized Constructivist formalism. Paul Strand made the first intentionally abstract photograph in 1916 with his "Pears and Bowls," emphasizing the pure, geometric forms of ordinary objects.

"Make it new," Ezra Pound advised budding Modernists. Photographers took his advice, using radical cropping and unexpected camera angles to expose new views of reality invisible to the jaded eye. Innovation more than reportage characterizes the collection's photographs from 1900 to 1936. One standout is Weston's semi-abstract image of a toilet, its curves and flowing rhythms compared by the photographer to the Victory of Samothrace.

What this century of photographs reveals is history conveyed with a you-are-there veracity that cannot fail to engage our voyeuristic interest. Beyond that, these photographs illustrate that art from one period or style to another is not necessarily better or worse, just different. From the earliest to the latest images exhibited, primitivism does not "progress" to sophistication, nor crudity to perfection.

The best photographs in the collection exude multiple levels of meaning. As 20th-century photographer Diane Arbus once said, "A photograph is a secret about a secret. The more it tells the less you know." Lewis Carroll's image of the 7-year-old Alice (who inspired his "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland") as a street waif implies a world of childlike fantasy.

In Talbot's diary of 1839, the pioneer of photography jotted the words: "Make picture of kaleidoscope." The pictures produced by his invention are, in effect, a kind of kaleidoscope. Photography reveals the shifting face of appearances in all their variety of shapes and shades, truth and fiction. Beneath the variety, however, is a unity of effect. It was also Talbot who called his prints calotypes from the Greek word meaning beauty.

■ "The Waking Dream: Photography's First Century. Selections from the Gilman Paper Company Collection" remains at the Metropolitan Museum of Art through July 4. It will visit Edinburgh from Aug. 7 to Oct. 2, then the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM GILMAN PAPER COMPANY COLLECTION



'THE WHARFE AND POOL BELOW THE STRIDE': The setting for Roger Fenton's



'TREES WITH REFLECTION': By William Henry Fox Talbot, the British in

MUSIC

Sharing a Meal With Larry Gatlin

The man who lassoed Broadway role of Will Rogers is part clown, part philosopher

By Kirsten A. Conover

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

I LOVE spice," Larry Gatlin says. "But I love fried shrimp." He can't decide between the Cajun shrimp or the fried. I have just joined the country singer at the oyster bar at the Union Oyster House, which proclaims itself "the oldest restaurant in the country" and is also his favorite place to eat in Boston. After greeting me with a big Texas "Hello" and a celebrity kiss on the cheek, Mr. Gatlin returns to his plate of oysters, dousing them with Tabasco.

But he still can't decide between the Cajun and fried shrimp. We end up cutting a deal: I get the Cajun, he gets the fried, and we'll share.

Gatlin is in town to talk about his starring role as Will Rogers in "The Will Rogers Follies," the Broadway musical at the Palace Theatre in New York. He's casually dressed in a light-blue shirt, the same color as his eyes, tan jeans, and red-white-and-blue cowboy boots with eagles on them.

The Follies is Gatlin's debut on Broadway, adding a new dimension to his longtime performing career in country music that includes 23 albums and a Grammy (awarded to Larry Gatlin and the Gatlin Brothers, his brothers Steve and Rudy) in 1976 for the song "Broken Lady."

Some of Gatlin's best-known songs include "All the Gold in California," "Houston," and "She Used to Be Somebody's Baby."

In his Texas accent, he can't say enough "wonderful" things about the musical that presents the life of the folk-philosopher Will Rogers as if told through the style of Ziegfeld Follies.

He calls his co-star Nancy Ringham "an absolutely wonderful lady;" choreographer Tommy Tune "the greatest choreographer in the American Theater," Willa Kim's costumes "wonderful...."

"And I ... am *in-credible*," he finishes in crescendo, then smiles and pops a fried shrimp in his mouth. I tell him I was waiting for that.

From all his antics, one might misjudge Larry Gatlin at first. But more time spent with him reveals another side: one that is serious, religious, and thoughtful.

He reverently speaks about his role as Will Rogers: "The opportunity to go be him every night for three hours is one of the most unbelievably wonderful things that's ever happened to me."

"Will Rogers was a very unique individual," Gatlin explains. "You have to understand he was a man who was half-breed Cherokee Indian when half-breed Cherokee Indians weren't very well thought of in this country - [or] Indians period. And in the 56 years between his birth and his death he became the most recognizable human on the face of the earth. He worked, did his rope tricks, performed for, talked to, gave lectures for more people than any other human being before him. There's a line in the show

that says 'Not since the death of Abraham Lincoln had another death so affected this country.' He was just a fabulous human being."

The offer to play Will Rogers came at a good time for Gatlin, who took over for his friend Mac Davis in February (Keith Carradine originally starred).

After 37 years of touring, Gatlin and his brothers had decided to retire from the road. "It was killin' me," Gatlin says of all the travel. He quotes his friend Stephen Stills: "I sing for free, they pay me to travel."

Eight years ago, Gatlin got out of treatment for drugs and alcohol. "I tried with all of my power, my wit, my passion, my strength, my creativity, my devotion to my brothers and to our music; I tried as hard as

the quarterback, or he is the manager and I'm the pitcher...."

When he and his brothers retired from the road, "We did not know what we were going to do. The opportunity presented itself to go to Branson, Mo., build a theater down there, sing three to five months a year in one place. Then the opportunity also came for me to do this [Will Rogers Follies], and I said 'yes.'"

He says he's having a "large" time in New York, that the city's people have been very nice. Playing Will Rogers is only part of the reason for being on Broadway, though.

"The first half is for me to bring whatever artistic singing and acting that I can do. The other half of the reason - the great cosmic universal reason for me being there - is for my own enlightenment to learn to work with and around people whose politics are different than mine; whose personal lifestyles are different than mine.... Those of us who are a little bit to the right of center are very rare. You can live your beliefs without shoving them down somebody else's throat, and that's what I'm trying to do."

I ask him about country music's popularity today, and he answers quickly that he really knows nothing about it, that he doesn't think about it.

"I left Nashville six months ago and moved back home to Texas. I left because I had no more dreams in Nashville, Tenn. I dreamed them all up. Some came true exactly the way I wanted to and some didn't.... I have a lot of memories that I wouldn't take anything for - the nights sitting on the floor, passing a guitar around with Johnny Cash, Kris Kristofferson, Roger Miller, Willie Nelson, and Mickey Newbury, and you know - you can't take those away from me; they're precious to me. Those days are gone. They are a memory."

"I believe that the quality of a man's life is directly proportional to his ability to make peace with his unfulfilled dreams."

What are his plans for the future?

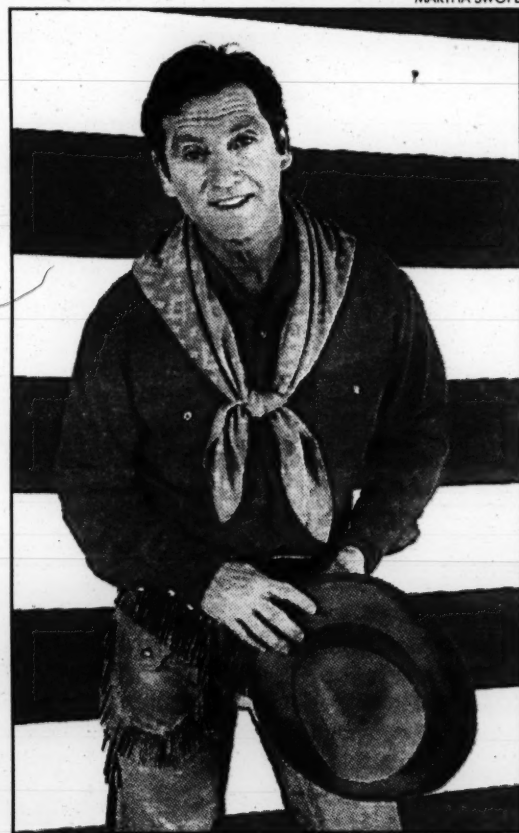
"I'm gonna go get on the saddle and go to work. That's as far ahead as I plan," he says - realizing that he has to quickly eat his Boston cream pie and catch the shuttle back to New York for tonight's show.

"Now, I think there might be a Branson in my future ... kind of the senior golf tour of country music," he says, adding that his brothers are working on that right now. (They would perform four to six months in their own theater.)

He has also written a musical titled "Alive and Well" that will be performed at the Bristol Riverside Theater in Bristol, Pa., next year.

Gatlin totes a repertoire of quotations with him wherever he goes, most of which relate to experiences he has had. "The life which is unexamined is not worth living," he quotes Plato.

"I believe that," Gatlin says. "Every night before I go to bed, I examine - I grade Larry on where Larry screwed up. I ask for forgiveness and wisdom to do it better tomorrow. And where I've done well, I thank God for it."



GATLIN: The country singer, one of the Gatlin Brothers, has made 23 albums and snared a Grammy in 1976 for the song 'Broken Lady.'

I could take our career - which was in the dumper - and rejuvenate it to where it was in the late '70s and early '80s.... We recorded music that I wrote that I thought was as good as I could write. And it never really came back. It never came back to that place that we thought it should have...."

Also, in 1991, he underwent throat surgery and three months of recovery. "During all that time, I had time to think, and pray, and meditate, and search this divine restlessness that said: Larry, you've been doing the same thing for 39 years, it's time to stretch out."

He describes the "divine restlessness" he has been experiencing for the past few years as not necessarily dissatisfaction, but more of a process that involves searching and listening.

"I'm always curious about: 'God, this is great, what else do you have for me?...' I believe that God is the director and I'm the actor, I believe that God is the coach and I'm

PAPER COMPANY COLLECTION/COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



the British inventor of the paper negative.

FOOD

Despite its rich reputation, Parmigiano-Reggiano cheese remains relatively unknown outside Italy

Parmesan – Seven Centuries Before Kraft

By Kerry O'Neil

Spécial to The Christian Science Monitor

REGGIO, ITALY

TRACKING down dairies that produce one of the finest cheeses in the world – *Parmigiano-Reggiano* – reminds one of a simple food truism that lived long before fast-food burgers and Twinkies: Taste begins with place.

In Italy, all roads to Parmesan country lead north to a stretch of pastures called the *Zona Tipica* (a territory that blankets most of Emilia Romagna and part of Lombardy). Here, dairymen tell you without flinching that it's "the grass" in this zone that creates the big deep flavor of *Parmigiano-Reggiano*. The explanation? The cows that eat it produce a milk that is especially rich in proteins and fats – a vital combination in aging cheese.

It's a savvy, scientific food link that's been put to use by dairy families for more than seven centuries. Today, it's a bond that is stringently preserved by law: The only cheese that can bear the name *Parmigiano-Reggiano* (par-mee-jah-no reh-gee-ah-no) must come from cows that graze in these precisely delineated pastures.

A cooperative of 950 cheesemakers, the *Consorzio del Formaggio Parmigiano-Reggiano*, helps to maintain the high standards, inspecting some 2,500,000 wheels annually. Each golden drum that passes (it must have uniform color, no pores, and a smell that isn't too sharp or



DAY-OLD PARMESAN: From this vat of whey, two dairymen in Reggio use cheesecloth to lift and drain the rounded, curdled mass of *Parmigiano-Reggiano*.

acidic) is branded with the month and year it was made, and the consortium's oval "expert" seal.

Though it's been said that the ancient Etruscans made a Parmesan-like cheese in Emilia, the first official record of a cheese called *Parmigiano* dates back to the 1300s, during an agriculture wave that swept into the Po River Plain in Emilia-Romagna. Marshes were drained, irrigation systems sprang up, and the cows

(brought in to plow the new fields) grew fat on the land, producing more milk than could possibly be drunk – and sparking a demand for new milk products.

Despite its rich reputation and long history, *Parmigiano-Reggiano* remains relatively unknown to most North Americans. Back in the mid-1940s, the Kraft food company beat Italian-cheese exporters to the American-Parmesan marketplace, introducing

the country to its first taste of "Parmesan" in a version that was far paler (made with cellulose powder and potassium sorbate) yet convenient (pre-grated in a green cylinder shaker).

Today, in the midst of the current Italian food revival in the United States, *Parmigiano-Reggiano* can be found in an increasing number of gourmet stores and Italian markets.

Food experts advise cheese

lovers willing to spend a few extra bucks and the energy to track it down – but are left wondering how to identify the real McCoy: Look for the hefty golden wheel imprinted with the name *Parmigiano-Reggiano*. The insides should be pale-amber without any dry white patches, and should taste nutty and mildly sweet, not sharp or pungent – and crackle in your mouth.

As for most handmade prod-

FINOCCHI AL BURRO (fennel sautéed in butter)

Fennel, both raw and cooked, is used much more as a vegetable in Italy than abroad, though it grows in most places and is easily found at many specialty vegetable markets and Italian markets. It has a light flavor, similar to that of fennel seeds that are used as a spice.

The fennel for this recipe is cut into pieces and then boiled, after which it is sautéed in butter and oil and seasoned with nutmeg and Parmigiano-Reggiano.

4 fennel 'bulbs'
Coarse-grained salt
6 tablespoons (3 ounces) sweet butter
1/2 tablespoon olive oil
Salt, freshly ground black pepper, and freshly grated nutmeg, to taste
1/4 cup freshly grated Parmigiano-Reggiano

Boil the fennel as described below. After bulbs have cooled, heat the butter and oil in a flameproof casserole. When they are hot, add the fennel. Sprinkle with salt, pepper, and nutmeg, then mix very well and sauté for about 5 minutes. Sprinkle with the Parmigiano-Reggiano and mix thoroughly. Cook for 2 minutes more, then remove the casserole from the heat. Transfer the fennel to a serving dish and serve hot. Serves 4.

TO BOIL FENNEL: Cut the stalks into quarters vertically. Discard the outer leaves. Cut off the small knob at the bottom and cut out the hard inner part at the bottom, which is a continuation of the knob. Place the fennel quarters in a large bowl of cold water and let them soak for about 30 minutes.

Heat a large quantity of cold water with coarse salt added. When the water reaches the boiling point, add coarse salt to taste, then add the fennel and let it boil until

cooked but still firm (about 7 minutes, varying a bit depending on size). Drain the fennel, then place it on paper towels to absorb all excess liquid.

– Recipe adapted from *'The Fine Art of Italian Cooking'* by Giuliano Bugialli (Times Books, 1989, 668 pp.)

BUTTER AND PARMESAN CHEESE SAUCE

The basic white sauce of butter and Parmesan has, for generations, eclipsed all others among families of northern Italy as the favorite way of seasoning pasta. The sauce is produced by the heat of the pasta itself as it melts the raw cheese and butter, and by the care with which the pasta is tossed to fuse both ingredients to itself and to each other. It is perhaps the best sauce for developing and mastering that skill of tossing, which is essential to the success of any pasta dish.

1 lb. pasta
4 tablespoons (1/2 stick) choicest quality butter
1 cup freshly grated Parmigiano-Reggiano cheese

Put hot, just-cooked, and drained pasta in a preheated serving bowl. Add about 4 tablespoonsful of grated cheese and toss rapidly and thoroughly, turning all the pasta in the cheese, which will begin to melt and cling. Add half the butter and another 4 tablespoonsful of cheese, and toss thoroughly and quickly again. Add the remaining cheese, and turn the pasta over with it three or four times. Add the remaining butter, and serve at once with additional cheese at the table. Serves 4.

– Recipe from *'Essentials of Classic Italian Cooking'* by Marcella Hazan (Alfred A. Knopf, 1992, pp. 688)

ucts that have survived in spite of the push toward mechanization, the technique in making a wheel of Parmesan requires the gentle eye and hand of an artisan. Indeed, to become a master cheesemaker requires a lifetime of experience. Most begin this livelihood in 10- to 15-year apprenticeships as teenagers. What they cultivate then – and what they continue to refine – are solid instincts for milk, an element whose acid, fat, and protein level fluctuates with each batch every day.

ONE morning under a pink sky, I drove to the town of Reggio to one of the 1,000 Parmesan dairies within Zona Tipica. (This town and Parma were production hot spots during the Middle Ages, and significant name-inspirers.)

For an out-of-towner to track down this plain building located off the autostrada required the eyes of a bird-watcher: Its sole marker along the country road is a sculpture of cheese wedges propped high on a pole.

As I stepped onto the wet cement floor of the dairy's off-white room, the stench of sour milk hit me like a gripping handshake. On the move was Ernesto Gabbi, a stocky and spritely cheesemaker, and his two younger assistants, intently engaged with seven

waist-high copper cauldrons of steaming milk, swirled by murmuring Goliath-sized eggbeaters.

Each day this trio – dressed in long white uniforms and high rubber boots – turn out 30 glistening wheels, plus baskets of soft ricotta and blocks of pale butter made from the discarded whey of Parmesan production. Most of these products are sold out of the dairy's no-frills store attached to the front, operated by Mr. Gabbi's wife; a smaller portion is sold in local markets.

Throughout my morning visit, the mystery that surrounds the making of a perfect Parmesan wheel was slowly revealed, as production came into focus: Milk from the morning is blended with skimmed milk from the previous night. This mixture gets heated, cooled, and heated again as fermented whey and rennet (an extract from the stomach lining of calf) are added to set off fermentation. The soft curds that grow settle to the bottom of each cauldron, eventually forming a huge tasteless, grainy round. These loaves are shaped, then lifted and

hung from cheesecloth – hammock style – tied to sticks that lie across each vat.

Once drained, the loaves are halved, then pressed into wooden hoops and left to sit for a few hours.

Matrixes imprinted with the name Parmigiano-Reggiano are inserted, and the newly-made wheels sit in stone baths of sea-salt for 23 days.

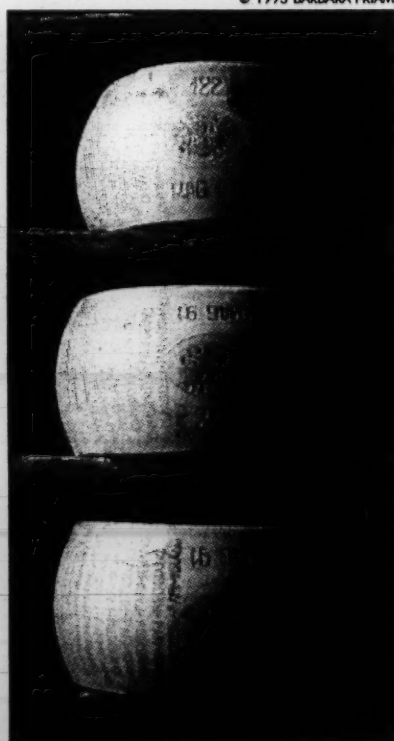
After a brief drying, their long aging begins in the dairy's cellar – a window-lit room filled with 4,000 wall-to-wall wheels – where they will remain for two years.

According to this cheesemaker with bushy graying brows and lively eyes, the future hand-off of this traditional skill is growing uncertain. The number of young apprentices, another important resource in production besides lush grass, is dwindling, he says. (Gabbi tells me his two daughters have both chosen work outside the dairy.)

I ask him what is behind this fading interest, and in his thick Italian dialect, he says simply, "Kids today aren't interested because it's too much work. How much is too much? In an answer rooted in another simple dairy truism – that cows give milk twice a day, everyday, including Christmas – Gabbi tells me "365 days a year, 12 hours a day, seven days a week" with a grin that's on the verge of cutting loose.



SHIRLEY HORN - STAFF



KING OF CHEESE: Towering tiers of Parmigiano-Reggiano for sale in a market just outside Rome (left), and stored inside a cellar in Reggio (above). "True" chunks of Parmesan sell for about \$13 a pound.

Silly Antics Rule Off-Broadway Pair

By Frank Scheck

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

IT'S hard to fathom why playwright Mustapha Matura thought it was necessary to update and transport the setting of J.M. Synge's classic play "Playboy of the Western World" from turn-of-the-century Ireland to an island in Trinidad in 1950.

The Caribbean patois is no more comprehensible to contemporary audiences than the Irish brogue; in fact, the Playbill comes equipped with a handy glossary. And the setting is just as removed and exotic, as it has to be for the unlikely events in the play to have any credibility.

As in the Synge original, "Playboy of the West Indies" concerns a weather-beaten young man named Ken who shocks everyone by announcing that he is on the run from having beaten his father to death. Rather than turning him in, the inhabitants of the fishing village, particularly a young female shopkeeper, treat him like a hero. Later, when it turns out the father is not dead after all, they turn on the young man and he learns about the fickle nature of fame.

The play, in both incarnations, is a sharp and ironic commentary on human nature, but Matura's version, as directed by Gerald Gutierrez, broadens the humor and coarsens the characters. Most of the laughs in this production spring less from the social satire than from the schtick that accompanies it. One scene, in which some teenage girls come to see the "playboy" for themselves and compete with each other for his affections, is particularly egregious. The scene in which Ken attempts to finish the job on his father is also played too baldly for laughs, reducing its shock value.

And yet the adaptation is not without its charms, if only because of its relaxed Caribbean setting, beautifully designed by John Lee Beatty and lit by James F. Ingalls. The two leads, Victor Love and Lorraine Toussaint, bring a depth and subtlety to their performances that the rest of the production lacks; their courtship is charming and believable. At the end, when Toussaint screams in anguish at the loss of her playboy, we are reminded that this play is actually about something.

IF you think that you will be able to recover from the sight of George Wendt in a sarong, then "Wild Men!" is the play for you.

Wendt, of course, has for the last 11 years played the lovable Norm on the hit television series "Cheers." He has not attempted an artistic stretch in his first role since that show's finale. He again plays a regular guy, in this case one of a group of men who are on an outing to discover their "wild men" within. Or their fathers. Or something.

This show, a spoof of Robert Bly's "Iron John" and the men's movement it helped popularize, was developed by a group of Chicago performers who are graduates of improvisational-comedy troupes. It has the feel of an extended sketch that was made up on the spot. Billed as "A Musical ... Sort Of," it also includes numerous songs, such as "Ooh, That's Hot," in which the men endure a sweat lodge purification ritual.

Two of the five performers, Peter Burns and Rob Riley, also collaborated in the writing, and Riley directed. They all seemed to be having a lot of fun, and some of that fun translated to the audience, who appeared to enjoy the low comedy and the high antics. Wendt proved that he can bring his easy-going charm and common-man persona, along with his deadpan comic delivery, to the stage. But after years of watching him perform in one of the most sophisticated comedies on television, it's a shame to see him reduced to sophomore silliness.

THEATER

PLAYBOY OF THE WEST INDIES

Drama by Mustapha Matura.
Directed by Gerald Gutierrez.
At the Mitzi E. Newhouse Theater,
Lincoln Center, until July 25.

WILD MEN!

Comedy by Peter Burns,
Mark Nutter, Rob Riley, Tom
Wolfe, and Jim Corti. At the
Westside Theatre indefinitely.

By Alan Bunce

FRIDAY

Robert F. Kennedy documentary (NBC, 9-11 p.m.): It's 25 years, believe it or not, since the tragic event in a hotel kitchen that so shocked the nation in 1968: the gunning down of Robert Kennedy while he was a leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. With this much elapsed time for perspective, "Robert F. Kennedy: The Man, the Myth and the Memories" takes a long look at the life and career of the person who was the heir apparent, in the minds of many, to the John F. Kennedy legacy. But the program also looks at Kennedy the father and husband, using clips from the Kennedy family's private library not seen before. Anecdotes from friends and colleagues also help paint the portrait.

The Coronation (PBS, 10-11 p.m.): This year marks four decades since the coronation of Elizabeth II as Queen of England, a ceremony of memorable pomp and splendor. Though she's paying taxes these days and reading publicity she doubtless hoped she'd never see, she maintains a heroically stiff upper lip — and with more humor and grace than many give her credit for. Both color and black-and-white footage from British Pathe News recreate the pageantry and offer an image of a country engrossed with royal rituals.

Unseen Treasures (The Learning Channel, 8-9 p.m.): Museums have been doing all right for themselves on TV lately. Lectures and other museum events will be an important component of "Horizons," a cable channel being launched by PBS later this year. Meanwhile, in this six-part miniseries, TV cameras are being turned on the often amazing stuff found in the "hidden recesses" of famous museums. During the two episodes aired as a two-part premiere, host Adrienne Meltzer goes to Washington's Museum of American History, where she finds Gen. George Custer's uniform and other evocative items. The second episode visits the Royal Armouries at the Tower of London and shows us, among other things, armor, guns, and swords. (The remaining programs air on consecutive Friday nights.)

Please check local listings for all programs, especially those on PBS.

Frommer's Guide to Great Trips

ROBERT HARBISON — STAFF

It's the mental journey, he says, not the physical one, that makes the vacation

By Kirsten A. Conover

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

FORTY years ago, Arthur Frommer decided to write a little travel guidebook for his fellow GIs stationed in Europe. So the graduate of Yale Law School traveled around, took notes, and came out with "The GI's Guide to Travel in Europe."

The book was received so enthusiastically that he followed up with a civilian version called "Europe on \$5 a Day." That book catapulted Mr. Frommer into travel writing and publishing, where he has been ever since.

Most people recognize his name from his books — Frommer's Budget Travel Guides. "We are now up to 142 guidebooks published annually," Frommer says proudly.

The Frommer name is almost Biblical in the travel industry. "The books have a longtime reputation and receive very positive national response," says Glenn Freeman, a travel industry consultant in the San Francisco area. With their do-it-yourself flavor, they "encourage people to get out more and mingle," he adds.

Frommer was in Boston recently to talk about trends, his philosophy on travel, and his company's latest endeavors, including a new series on city walking tours. (No, he doesn't write all the books himself.)

"I keep telling myself that I'm getting tired of travel," he says. On the other hand, if he stopped, "I would feel absolutely miserable." He keeps up a "ridiculous travel schedule," he says, being somewhere different every week,

though he tries to be home on weekends.

The "budget" label on his guides may be misunderstood, he says. "The purpose of keeping your costs low was so that you could forget about such expenditures when you went to a particular country and concentrate on the reason why you went."

Another reason for his going the budget route was that it automatically meant that he avoided touristy places and thereby got to experience more of the "realities of the destination."

But not all his readers saw it that way. "A few years ago," he says, "it suddenly dawned on me that many of my readers were eating in modest restaurants and staying in 'alternative' lodgings, but that they were spending their days just as senselessly as the rich tourists were...."

INTERVIEW

"If all you do when you travel is look at some dead, physical structure or sight that you could as easily read about or see in a picture book, then the trip is not worth the fatigue and the expense of travel."

Frommer staunchly supports "meaningful" travel; he wants people to exercise their minds.

"Travel means exposing yourself to new lifestyles, to new philosophies," he says, "even juxtaposing your most cherished ideals

to those that are perhaps diametrically opposed to what you believe in — being shaken up, being made to review your assumptions."

Frommer calls this philosophy "alternative" travel. Although such travel will always be a minority in the industry, it is a growing segment, he says.

"None of the large, major travel companies have yet involved themselves in it," he says. But whenever someone creates a small tour operation to take people to visit the Berber tribes in the Atlas Mountains of Morocco, for example, "like magic, the departure fills up with people." There are hundreds of tiny companies designing trips with a theme or purpose, maybe a volunteer vacation where travelers do environmental research or help with some local cause, for example.

In addition to alternative travel, he sees other trends: More cost-consciousness; more outdoorsy and even "health related" tours as well as "spas," which are booming. Seniors are traveling to

a much greater extent than ever before, Frommer says.

Some other trends are disappointments to him: short vacations, motor-coach tour. He crusades against the "inhuman amount of vacation time that the average American enjoys," compared with the five weeks a year that is "an absolute bare minimum" in Western Europe. And while bus tours are convenient, he says, they don't let travelers see much of their destination.

A great vacation, Frommer says, is one that "introduces you to something unfamiliar — either a different lifestyle, a different political viewpoint, a different theological viewpoint." Frommer sometimes goes to resorts or centers that focus on a theory or way of life in which he does not believe — yoga, for example — "simply for the purpose of confronting it.... I find it a great intellectual adventure." And during the cold war, he considered it an incentive to visit "anti-American" countries, just to "see ourselves through others' eyes."



FROMMER: The well-known travel-guide writer poses in the Mapparium, a giant, walk-in globe of stained glass at the Christian Science Publishing Society in Boston.

Enduring a Tedious Cruise; Enjoying a Stone-Age Encounter

BOSTON

WHAT makes a good vacation? What makes a bad one? After 40 years of extensive travel, Arthur Frommer has some well-tested ideas. In a Monitor interview, he recalled a bad trip and one of his favorites.

Not long ago he and his wife took her mother on a four-night cruise for her 85th birthday. The cruise "was horrendous, a horrible experience," Mr. Frommer recalls. "The entertainment and activity policy was so superficial and so trivial — such an insult to anybody, and yet it was inescapable." There was nowhere you could sit down on deck and read a book.

"All around you are these silly games — of people pushing balls against each other's stomach, dressing up in costume...." There was only a "tiny little library" that was closed

most of the time. There were no lectures, no seminars — save a few classes on cosmetics and the like, he says, frowning.

Good travel isn't just geographically memorable, Frommer says, it teaches you something new; it changes you.

One of his most memorable trips was to the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia, where Thailand, Laos, and Burma meet. "It is one of the few places left in the world where, fairly easily, you hire yourself a guide and you go up the mountains — as much as 60 miles in, partially by boat — and you stay with Stone Age people — with hill tribes." There's no electricity, no running water, and the people are "the loveliest people one could possibly meet." Ironically, he says, the tribes are being irrevocably changed by tourism.

Frommer and his wife, Roberta (who to

his surprise agreed to go on the trek), started out in Chiang Mai, Thailand. They took a 40-mile boat trip up the Mekong River. Then they rode elephants 10 or 15 miles into the jungle ("the most uncomfortable ride of my life," he adds).

When they reached the foot of the mountains, they began what seemed an endless climb. At one point, his wife said she didn't know if she could continue, to which Frommer replied: "What's the alternative?"

It was all made right when they came over the crest of the mountain at 5 o'clock that day. Hill tribesmen in colorful costumes greeted them. And although it took a while for everyone to warm up, Frommer recalls, he and his wife were soon interacting — tasting different foods and communicating. It was the experience of a lifetime.

— K. A. C.

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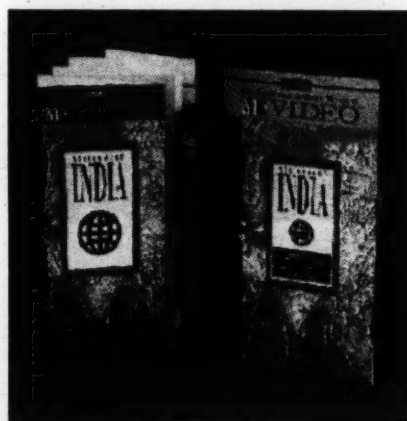


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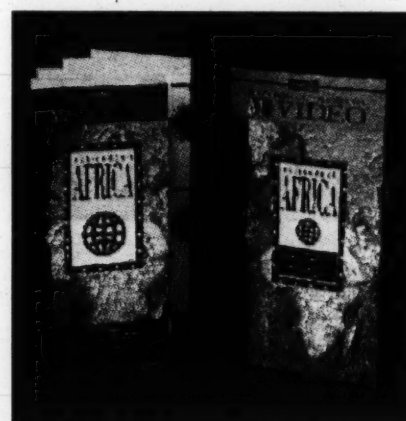


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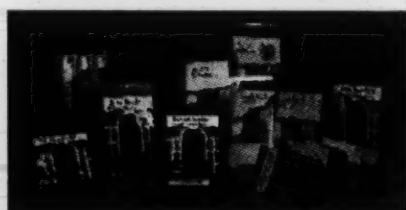


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The Home Forum

Photograph by staff photographer Robert Harbison



An abandoned Dodge near Smethport, Pa.

Where Weeds Are Winning

PERHAPS you need to commute at least two hours a day to fully appreciate this photograph.

And not just any commute will do. You need two hours of "gridlock" commute, when the highway traffic creeps itself to a halt, with nary a blinking brake light down the line to suggest that somewhere, at least, some car is moving again. At that moment, just after all flickering ceases, I look to the side of the road, to that space where asphalt meets organic life.

At that point — incredibly — the plants are winning. Hearty grasses, weeds, and even wildflowers somehow sink roots and grow in between cracks in the asphalt. Many even appear to be nudging concrete and rock aside in a bid to secure turf and move on.

In Robert Harbison's photograph, a car dominates space in the frame, yet somehow the plants are winning.

A splendid car it is: a rusting, 1940s-something blue Dodge that somehow got sidelined on its way to a second life as an

antique in Hemmings Motor News.

There is life in this car yet. The widening tracks of rust nearly qualify the car as "performance art," a living sculpture. This car has stories to tell. Whence come those bullet holes (if bullet holes they be)? And who left the car in a field with the trunk-door handle open, as if a family just pulled out a picnic hamper and somehow found another way home?

LENS AND LIGHT

Harbison found this car behind a barn near Smethport, Pa. He was first attracted by an abandoned filling station, with old-style gas pumps (the price of gas was posted at 34 cents a gallon). Behind the barn, he found this treasure.

The heart of this image is the tension between the rusting car and plants with a will to grow. It's more than the biting greens of the film that draws the eye to this point in the photo.

It's called composition by elimination. "When something catches your eye, you keep eliminating until all that is left is

what attracted you in the first place," Harbison says. The outtakes from this photo shoot include shots of the full car engulfed by greenery. In one photograph, foliage shoots up through what was once a hood. This is an image to look at and chuckle over, briefly. But the tighter shot is poetry.

The close shot transcends the scene. To me, it evokes images of Cambodia's Angkor Wat temple complex, overrun by centuries of jungle growth. This abandoned temple was rediscovered by a French explorer in the 19th century who is said to have stumbled over a Buddha's head in the jungle, looked up and saw the world's largest religious structure swathed in vines. A few more centuries and the jungle would have won.

Classic cars come as close to objects of veneration as anything in our age. And yet, the plants are winning.

Gail Russell Chaddock

'Lens and Light' is a series showcasing the work of Monitor staff photographers.

Loyal Friends of The Leafy, Growing Variety

SOME plants become friends. And they don't have to be spectacular dahlias or fragrant roses in order to do so. Most garden flowers are summer friends, gone in the winter when times are difficult up here in the mountains.

Those who stand by you in adversity — plant or human — are your true friends. There are never many of them around, so you cherish them while you can and take care of them in all seasons.

My best plant friend must be the orange tree I grew in my bedroom, almost by accident. You cannot grow an orange tree outdoors at 7,000 feet in the Himalayas. And when I pushed an orange seed into an empty pot near my bedside table, I didn't expect anything to happen. But a month later, in the spring, I found a tiny orange tree had popped up through the soil, its glossy leaves glistening in the morning sunshine. That was five years ago, and now it's three feet tall. A slow grower in my bedroom, but I dare not leave it outside long, except for occasional watering and sunbathing.

Now, in May, new shoots are appearing, and when I press the leaves between my hands, they give out an orange-scented tang — a very pleasant way in which to begin the day's writing.

Another good friend, not as old but extremely generous, is the variegated ivy that has spread all over my bedroom wall.

I should mention here that my small bedroom-cum-study gets plenty of light and sun, and when the windows are open a cool breeze from the mountains floats in, rustling the leaves of ivy. This breeze can turn into a raging blizzard in winter — even on one occasion blowing the roof away — but right now it's just a zephyr, gentle and balmy. Ivy plants seem to like my room, and this one, which I brought up from Dehra Dun, where the climate is quite different from Mussoorie, took an instant liking to my desk and walls, so that I now have difficulty keeping it from trailing over my typewriter when I am at work.

I do not have an outside garden — the hillside is too steep for anything but the sturdiest of shrubs — but there are a number of plants that grow inside: near the windows, along the sunlit walls, on cupboards and boxes behind chairs. Rugs are ruined, and so is furniture. But I have always held furniture to be a superstition. And rugs can always be thrown away, or given to rug collectors!

As I like to take in other people's sick or discarded plants and nurse or cajole them back to health, I have acquired a bit of a reputation as a plant doctor.

Actually, all I do is give an ailing plant a quiet corner where it can rest and recuperate. They have usually been ill-treated in some way. But it's wonderful how quickly a tree or plant will recover if it's not lopped or mauled about, constantly shifted or over-watered or placed in the path of hot winds or snowdrifts.

I rescued a dying asparagus fern from the portals of Mussoorie's Savoy Hotel, and now, six months later, its strong, feathery fronds have taken over most of one window, so that I have no need of curtains. The owner of the Savoy Hotel now wants his fern back.

Mrs. Banerjee's ailing geranium, never allowed to settle in one place — hence its stunted appearance — has burst forth in an array of new leaf and flower within a fortnight of being admitted to my plant ward.

Should I return these and other plants when they are fully recovered? I don't think they want to go back. And I should hate to see them suffering relapses on being returned to their former abodes. So I tell the owners that their plants need monitoring and should stay with me under observation for a while. Perhaps if I sent bills for their care, the demands for their return would not be so strident.

Loyalty in plants, as in friends, must be respected and rewarded. If dandelions show a tendency to do well on the steps of the cottage, then that is where they shall be encouraged to grow.

If sorrel is happier on my windowsill than on the hillside, then I shall let it stay even if it means the window won't close properly. And if the hydrangea does better in my neighbor's garden than in mine, he or she shall have the hydrangea! Among flower lovers there must be no double standards. Generosity, not greed; sugar, not spite!

And what of the rewards for me, apart from the soothing effect of fresh fronds and leaves at my place of work and rest? The other evening I came home to find my room vibrating to the full-throated

chorus of several crickets who had found the ivy to their liking.

I thought they would keep me up all night with their music, but when I switched the light off, they immediately fell silent. So crickets don't sing in the dark, I surmised, and switched the light on again. Once more, I was treated to symphonic variations on a theme by Tchaikovsky.

Now what made me think of Tchaikovsky? I looked up my musical dictionary and, to my amazement, realized that it was the 7th of May, the great composer's birthday. I expect this tidbit was always at the back of my mind, and I needed just some little reminder — like a cricket's chirp — to bring it to the forefront.

I thought it would be appropriate to listen to some Tchaikovsky, so I played "The Dance of the Sugar Plum Fairy" from the Nutcracker Suite. The crickets maintained a respectful silence, even with the lights on.

Last night a beetle flew in at the open window and landed with a plop in my jug of drinking water. He didn't appear to be a good swimmer, so I picked him up and flung him back into the night. One has to draw the line somewhere.

Ruskin Bond

Though Gone

So much we used to know
has had to change or go.
The elms have fallen, the plow
is very different now.
The rose that once grew wild
on banks is reconciled
to trellises; the sweet
songs of birds retreat
hours away, and yet
we do not forget,
do not forget....

Helen Harrington

Justice — Punishment Or Healing?

MOST people have a definite concept of justice, of the law and how it should be administered. And probably many would agree that those who commit crimes should be apprehended and punished. This seems reasonable where what are called felonies are concerned, though even then, caring people would hope that rehabilitation of the criminal — and not just incarceration — would be part of the process.

But how about the less clear-cut injustices we encounter in our human experience? What are we to think of one who steals our reputation or our job or our spouse? Should we react and seek retribution through punishment, or should we seek healing?

In his Sermon on the Mount, found in Matthew's Gospel, Christ Jesus told us we not only had to love those who had wronged us, but *pray* for them as well. And isn't he our example of proper behavior, of righteous reaction?

I had always prided myself on my stand for justice and forgiveness. I supported organizations working against injustice and unfair punishment in all its forms.

But one day, what I thought was a great injustice was done to me.

Someone I had befriended broke up my marriage. This seemed to have shattered my joy and stolen my reason for living. All my high ideals of forgiveness and loving one's enemies seemed to fly out the window. I was shocked by how dominated I was by thoughts of punishment, hate, revenge!

I'm a student of Christian Science and dedicated to following Christ Jesus' example, so even in the midst of my anguish I knew these angry thoughts were not right and would not bring healing to the pain I was feeling. I knew deep in my heart that the only answer to the numbing sense of injustice was in consecrated prayer — in the acknowledgment of God's government and His impartial, ever-present love. God does not take good from one of His children to give to another. He has abundant good for all. The Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, writes in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*: "Justice is the moral signification of law. Injustice declares the absence of law." In the book of Isaiah the Bible assures us, "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee." This is what I was striving to do, to trust in God instead of wallowing in unhappiness and self-pity. Mrs. Eddy also urges us in *Science and Health*: "Hold thought steadfastly to the enduring, the good, and the true, and you will bring these into your experience proportionably to their occupancy of your thoughts."

The suffering and self-pity gradually lessened. But it wasn't an easy change. Often it seemed that I had to watch every thought, moment by moment. And as I was able, through prayer, to replace resentment, hurt, and a feeling of victimization with an increased understanding of God's goodness, peace did come — with it a return to a useful, happy life. I learned that joy comes only from God. Joy doesn't depend on others, and no one can take it away from us. I knew the healing was complete when I no longer even felt any curiosity about the activities of my former "enemies." The hatred and vengefulness were gone from my heart — and so was the misery they had fostered. I no longer wished, even secretly, to see that these individuals were "properly punished." My desire for justice had gone beyond punishment to healing.

So, with a heart full of love for my own spiritual growth, I can pray as Jesus commanded. This is healing indeed!

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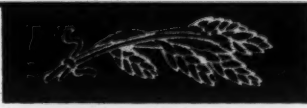
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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Clinton, China, and MFN

BILL CLINTON'S campaign critique of George Bush's attitude on human rights in China was fair. The White House did "coddle" the Chinese leaders responsible for the Tiananmen Square massacre. There was never an adequate American condemnation of that act – or the subsequent repression of human rights in China. As time went on, however, a sharp repudiation of China – ending a most-favored-nation trade status – became a less effective option. The best way to help change a rigid xenophobic system was through free-market engagement.

Last October's shakeup of China's Politburo – replacing hardliners with reformers – shows real change. So does the stock market in Guangdong province, the easing of press restrictions, and the manufacturing boom that has made China America's third-largest trading partner.

Given these changes, candidate Clinton's platform not to renew MFN is moot. The argument of engagement plus American corporate interests makes human rights a tough sell. Hence, Mr. Clinton will renew MFN but make it conditional on progress next year. This is really a continuation of the Bush policy – except that the threat to punish Beijing comes from

the White House instead of Congress.

While this is the right general approach, it seems to be done out of weakness and thus may not be effectively nuanced. The problem with Clinton's concession on MFN is that it doesn't appear principled. It looks like a concession he is forced into. Given a capitulation on the real human rights tragedy in Bosnia, does he have the political capital to develop a sophisticated rights policy on China? Yet this is what he must do. Despite advice to the contrary, Clinton ought not to drop the rights question in China.

Real concerns exist. Why will China not allow the Red Cross to examine the Chinese gulag of prison labor – which may imprison as many as 10 million? How long can China's repression of Tibet go unmentioned? What is to be said of sales of Chinese missile technology, when Beijing's leaders assure Washington it isn't selling? Clinton's proposal to restrict trade from state-run businesses in China (which are more likely to operate off of prison labor) is a decent one. But this would require serious and systematic monitoring. An effective China policy must come through a more coherent overall American foreign policy.

EDITORIALS

Keeping EPA on Course

TWENTY-TWO years ago, in the Nixon administration, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was established. Its debut was already long overdue.

Living on a beautiful, bountiful continent, Americans were taking too much for granted, as though these resources were perpetually renewable. Fortunately, enough people responded to the warnings of the farsighted. New preservation and renewal programs, private and governmental, were established.

By 1970 it was clear that nothing less than a national effort at the federal level was needed. The fact that the EPA was established when a Republican president was in the White House provided proof that more than "flower children" were involved in this new environmental movement.

After 20 years, United States environmental policy stands on firmer ground. But not firm enough, according to a report issued earlier this week in Washington by the Center for Resource Economics.

While Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt promises bold initiatives with projects like saving the Florida Everglades and safeguarding public lands in the West, the president's budget features an 8-percent cut in the fiscal 1994 EPA budget – almost \$1.5 bil-

lion, or 22 percent below the amount said to be needed to fulfill its statutory obligations.

The Center for Resource Economics report advocates \$1.47 billion more for the EPA in fiscal 1994, which begins Oct. 1, 1993. This would be a 13-percent increase over the current budget for the agency. The report also urges an end to political interference by forces outside the EPA.

The tenor of the Congress and the president is to cut something from most departments and programs to help close the government's budget deficit. We certainly support responsible federal budgets. Yet while a 13-percent increase in the agency's budget when other important programs are being cut is unrealistic, neither should the agency's budget get thrown into fiscal reverse.

As President Clinton and Congress continue to work on the budget, they should restore the EPA's budget line at least to a level equal to last year's figure. If they choose not to, members of Congress especially should think twice about allowing subsequent oversight hearings to become bash-the-EPA sessions.

If the agency continues to have trouble meeting its obligations, lawmakers themselves will carry a significant share of the blame.

Opportunity for the Americas

By Peter Hakim

EARLIER this month, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen affirmed that the Clinton administration planned to vigorously pursue the goals of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI) and was committed to free trade with all of Latin America, not just Mexico. This was good news for Latin American governments, nearly all of which had reacted favorably to the initiative when it was announced by President Bush in June 1990, but have since been dismayed by the slow pace of its implementation.

President Clinton can make the news even better by reshaping the EAI to reflect more closely the policy directions of his administration by incorporating a special dimension and turning the initiative into a genuinely multilateral effort. EAI has three central provisions: the reduction of Latin America's \$12 billion bilateral debt to the United States, the creation of a \$300 million fund to promote private investment in Latin America, and the eventual development of a Western Hemisphere free trade area.

By proceeding on these fronts, the Clinton administration would reassure Latin America of its commitment to that part of the EAI that could make an important contribution to the region's economies: the building of open hemispheric trading arrangements that would assure Latin America of stable, long-term access to the US market, which currently absorbs about half the region's exports. They would also serve as an anchor and incentive for Latin America's ongoing trade and economic reform efforts, and likely spark increased investment flows to the region. Stronger Latin American economies would, in turn, serve US interests by expanding markets for US goods, services, and investment capital.

Clearly, the North American Free Trade

Agreement (NAFTA) of the US, Mexico, and Canada, comes first. For the US, free trade with Latin America must start with Mexico, which accounts for more than half of all US exports to the region. Once NAFTA is ratified by the US Congress – an outcome that is by no means certain – the stage will be set for trade negotiations with other Latin American countries. Even if this is accomplished, EAI would still be incomplete on two scores. First, it fails to address Latin America's most difficult economic challenge: mass poverty and inequalities that plague most of the region. Consistent with its domestic agenda, the Clinton administration's economic policy toward Latin America should be concerned with more than growth, trade, and capital flows. It should also give emphasis to improving the living standards of the people of the region.

Adding a social component to the EAI would not necessarily require new US funding. Washington, instead, should be pressing Latin American governments and the major international financial institutions, particularly the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, to push ahead with their announced intentions to assign far higher priority to poverty alleviation, invest more in programs directed to the poor, and promote policy changes, like tax reform and reduced military expenditures.

Second, EAI has been managed almost completely unilaterally from Washington. The initiative should be transformed into a regional effort. As a first step, the Clinton administration could convene a meeting of senior economic officials and nongovernmental leaders from throughout the Americas both to discuss hemispheric trade and investment issues and to explore alternative mechanisms for regular multilateral consultations on these issues. It is up to Mr. Clinton to make EAI serve his own vision of a Western Hemispheric Community of Democracies.

■ Peter Hakim is acting president of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington.

Some Reasons to Be Wary About Jari

The recent article "Brazil Tree Farm Uses Rain Forest and Also Saves It," April 27, is a welcome contribution to the reassessment of large-scale development's role in improving and sustaining human welfare in tropical forest areas. Projects like Jari will often be integral parts of successful regional development strategies in the developing world, and when successful deserve credit.

Several important issues, however, are overlooked in the article. First, profitability is claimed, but on what basis? The use of pricing schemes that fully reflect resource use costs is essential, but rarely used in practice.

Second, the article mentions, but does not focus on, employment generation. Employment opportunities generated by such projects are usually quite small: The Jari Project, as the statistics presented suggest, has generated only one job for every 545 acres in the project. At that rate, clearing the entire Amazon world would make only a small dent in rural poverty in the northeast of Brazil.

Finally, if such projects are really profitable but do not benefit many, then methods must be found to transfer the wealth tapped from the tropical forest to those driven by poverty to occupy the forest margins and use them in less sustainable ways, preferably before such occupation takes place.

Until these critical resource costs, employment, and income distribution issues are effectively incorporated into regional development strategies, even the most successful Jari-style project will

not solve the growth, sustainability, and poverty problems that plague environmentally fragile areas in the developing world.

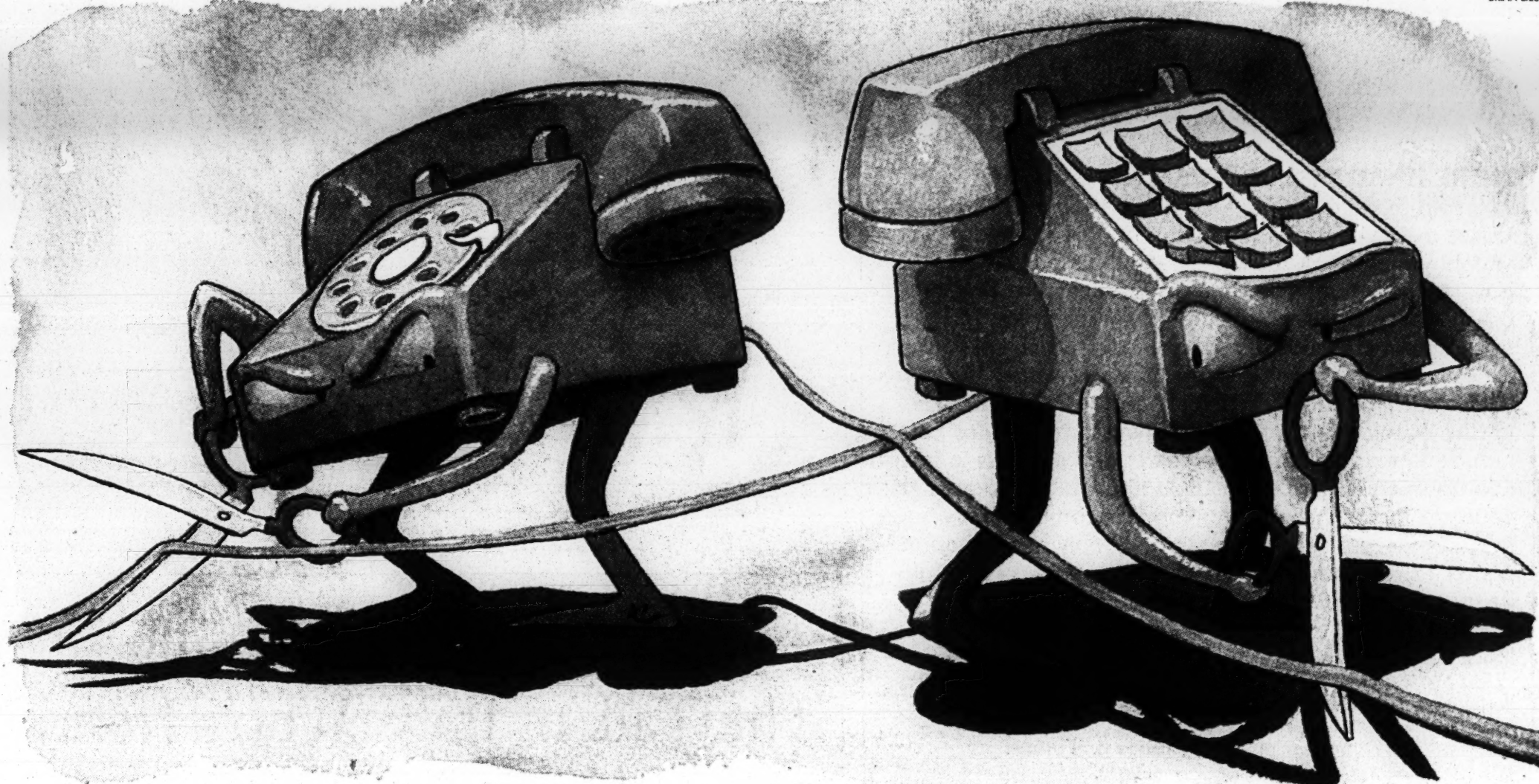
S. A. Vosti
Research Fellow
International Food Policy Research Inst.

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LETTERS

OPINION/ESSAYS

BRIAN LIES



Averting a Telecommunications Trade War

By Gregory C. Staple

ONCE, telephone traffic belonged to every nation's flag carrier: the Post Telegraph and Telephone operator or a private company with a similarly exclusive national franchise.

But no longer. In much of the world, technology and market liberalization have opened the vast national pools of telecommunications traffic, once a country's patrimony, to as fierce international bidding as forests or mineral deposits.

In theory, such competition should give consumers more choice. And it should save them money, especially for international calls, which despite rapidly falling transmission costs may still be priced at \$1.00 a minute or more for calls originating in the US. The charge for overseas calls in a foreign country may be two or three times that.

Users have the right to route their calls via the lowest priced carrier, regardless of national pedigree, don't they? After all, whose traffic is it?

Yet, even in the United States, the answer still seems to depend on whom you ask, carriers or customers. In Europe and much of Asia, the sovereignty of the national carriers, rather than of consumers, is even more firmly entrenched. Hence, as regulatory and trade officials in the Clinton administration begin to address this issue with their foreign counterparts, they would do well to keep consumer interests front and center.

A case in point is the new contest be-

tween British Telecom (BT), Britain's largest telecoms carrier, and AT&T. BT wants to provide trans-Atlantic telephone service from the US by leasing underseas cable facilities from US carriers. AT&T wants to lease British circuits to provide similar end-to-end services from Britain.

However, AT&T has asked the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to reject the service application of BT's US subsidiary. AT&T claims that British regulations would not permit it to interconnect its international circuits with BT's domestic network on terms equivalent to those offered by BT in the US, as FCC rules require. BT denies this.

BT and AT&T each seems to want the best of both worlds: unlimited access abroad and a managed oligopoly at home.

The US accounts for approximately 26 percent of international telephone traffic; Britain for approximately 8 percent. These are critical markets for each company as it seeks to become a global supercarrier.

Both companies have some "big guns" in the wings. AT&T recently appointed Carla Hills, the Bush administration's US trade representative, to its board of directors. BT has already enlisted the British Embassy in Washington and appears to have the ear of Sir Leon Brittan, the European Community's top trade official.

Striking a balance between the producer and consumer interests involved in market access disputes is not easy. And the telecommunications sector is hardly unique; such issues are at the heart of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks.

But, so far as the AT&T-BT contest is concerned, on both sides of the Atlantic there appears to be more interest in bro-

kering a deal between the protagonists than in helping the consumers or the smaller entrepreneurial carriers that have championed competition thus far.

Yet the potential benefits to consumers are considerable. For example, one result of BT's FCC application has been an AT&T proposal to reduce by at least 60 percent the wholesale rate, or settlement, it now collects from British carriers for landing their traffic in the US.

AT&T says it is willing to connect calls from Britain for about 10 cents a minute provided BT will accept the same rate for landing US traffic.

LOWER international settlement rates generally lead to lower retail rates for international telephone users. Lower retail rates also reduce the margins available for AT&T's would-be competitors, such as BT, which seek to enter the US market by leasing AT&T's international circuits in bulk and then reoffering the capacity to the public for telephone services.

This year, the US and Britain will exchange roughly 1.5 billion minutes of switched telephone traffic. If AT&T were required to pass through to telephone users even half of the proposed cut in settlements — a very conservative assumption given US-Britain toll charges are still at least 50 cents to 60 cents a minute — the savings would amount to approximately \$115 million.

And that is just the US-Britain route; if more competition led to similar rate reductions on other routes, the savings could be well over \$1 billion annually.

Given the magnitude of the sums, it is

not surprising that, free-market rhetoric aside, most national carriers would prefer to have regulators manage the growth of competition on their behalf rather than let the market do it.

One way to do that is to transform the debate into a trade dispute between "us" and "them," to borrow from a 1990 Harvard Business Review essay of Labor Secretary Robert Reich. But, as Mr. Reich properly asks, in an age of networked production and supranational companies, "Who is 'Us'" and "Who is 'Them'?"

Global managers of supranational corporations, such as AT&T and BT, have their own priorities — winning market share, increasing stockholder value, and securing the bottom line.

Similarly, every nation wants to improve its economic performance and provide the jobs and services its people want. National security is also a legitimate concern.

That is why all countries have basic telecommunications regulations for doing business. "They" must abide by "Our" rules and we by theirs. But so long as they do, how much does it matter today where a company is chartered?

For most telephone users, the answer is "not much." Thus the Clinton administration might do well to use the new contest between BT and AT&T as a unique opportunity to bring down transatlantic telephone rates rather than to engage in yet another trade war with Europe.

■ Gregory C. Staple is a Washington communications lawyer and editor of *TeleGeography*, a statistical almanac on international telecommunications traffic.

EVENTS

MORE HARD DIPLOMACY OVER BOSNIA

Thorvald Stoltenberg of Norway, who replaces Cyrus Vance as the United Nation's Bosnian peace negotiator, sought yesterday in Sarajevo to soothe the Bosnian government's fears that a new peace initiative would create de facto Muslim ghettos. The Muslim-led government contends that the formula, which calls for six UN-guarded areas for Bosnian Muslims, would legitimize Serb control of about 70 percent of Bosnia and do little to stop Bosnian Serb forces. The new formula does not include foreign military intervention and appears to have taken some pressure off Serb-dominated Yugoslavia. The issue of placing international monitors on Bosnia's border with Serbia to make sure that only humanitarian goods – and not military supplies – were being sent into Bosnia also has not been worked out.

More 'travel' business

The White House has backed down somewhat on the firings last week of its entire travel office and reinstated 5 of 7 who were dismissed. "There's nothing funny going on here," a frustrated President Clinton said. However, he acknowledged, "I know that there is a feeling ... that someone in the White House may have done something that was inappropriate or that wasn't quite handled right or something." The essential criticism has been that the employees were tossed out to make room for political friends and to create travel business for Clinton's pals.

Karadzic and war crimes

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said yesterday he would refuse to cooperate with a newly created UN war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. "Absolutely not," Mr. Karadzic told Britain's Sky News television channel when asked whether he would participate in the new court's activities. The Security council, in a first step to punish human rights abusers in the former Yugoslavia, agreed on Tuesday to set up an 11-judge court in The Hague to try those accused of murder, rape, torture, and "ethnic cleansing." Karadzic is among those accused of being a war criminal.

Protest in Bonn

Helicopters in Bonn flew German legislators to parliament over lines of leftist protesters trying to block debate yesterday on a bill to sharply limit the number of refugees entering the country. The measure would dilute a liberal asylum law that is part of Germany's 1949 Constitution. It was considered certain to pass in the lower house because of support by the opposition Social Democrats. The upper house, called the Bundesrat,

votes on the legislation tomorrow, and if both chambers pass it, it becomes law July 1.

France privatizes

Automaker Renault and Air France are among 21 state companies that the French government said will be converted to private ownership under the new conservative administration. The list was presented to the weekly Cabinet meeting and will be submitted to the National Assembly in a few weeks. "The world economy is evolving quickly," Economics Minister Edmond Alphandery said. "We recognize that a modern and competitive economy depends on decentralization of management decisionmaking."

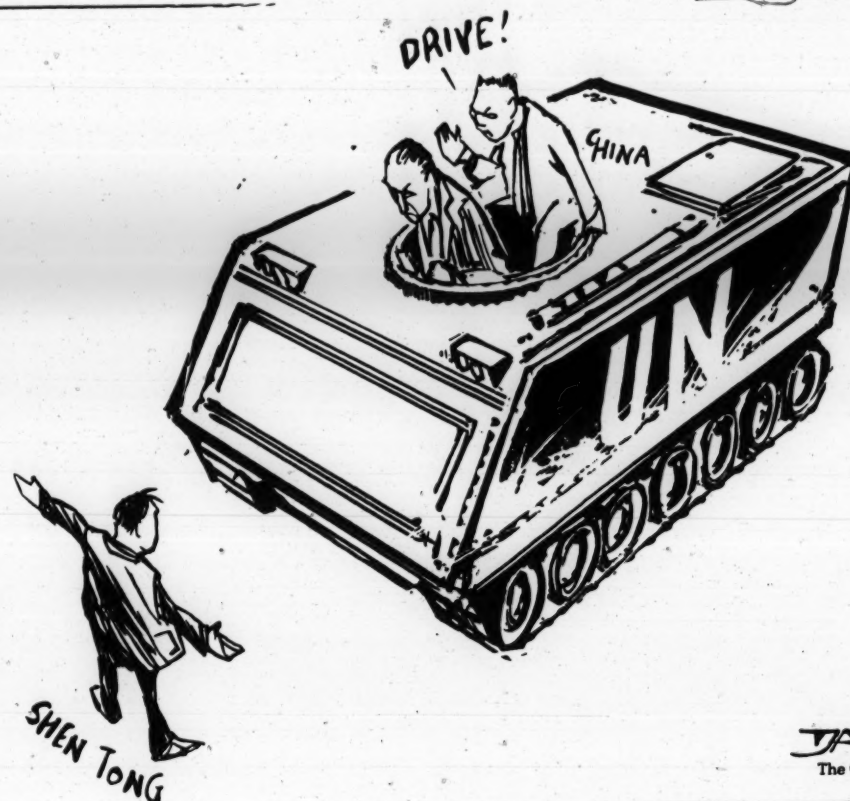
'Satanic Verses' published

A prosecutor yesterday ordered an investigation against the leftist Istanbul newspaper Aydinlik that printed passages from the controversial novel "Satanic Verses," which has been banned in Turkey. The novel is considered blasphemous by some believers of Islam and its author, Salman Rushdie, went into hiding after the late Ayatollah Rohallah Khomeini offered a \$1 million reward for his ordered death. The paper published the first excerpt under the headline: "Is Salman Rushdie a charlatan or a thinker?"

Peace plan rejected

Leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh rejected a revised peace plan aimed at halting the five-year war over a disputed region in Azerbaijan, the Interfax news agency reported. The decision could doom the joint effort by the United States, Russia, and Turkey to get the warring parties to return to negotiations and end fighting that has killed more than 3,000 people.

— **Compiled by David Mutch**



Corruption revelations keep Italians glued to the news – a letter from Rome

The Talk of Italy: Who's Next?

By Richard L. Wentworth

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ROME

THESE days you know, even before turning on the TV, what you're in for from the news broadcasts.

More *avvisi di garanzia*, the notifications sent by investigating magistrates to politicians and businessmen that they are under investigation for giving or receiving kickbacks on public contracts, working in collaboration with organized crime, or any other of numerous crimes being uncovered in Italy.

More arrests.

More disintegration of and division within the existing political parties. More revelations of the parties' serious debts, now that it is unfashionable to take money under the table.

More attempts by the formerly powerful to thwart genuine reform and maintain the crumbling old boys' network.

And yet, there just might be that new name at the center of an investigation, so you can't really afford to miss the latest broadcast.

The scandal is now so pervasive that it seems everyone knows someone who is involved.

An art director broke off her conversation with an American visitor a few days ago to listen to the radio news, so she could find out if her husband's boss at Olivetti had been arrested.

The woman's daughter, a few months back, said she had a friend who had been unjustly accused in the bribery and corruption scandal, a man who spent nearly a month in Milan's now-famous San Vittore prison. He was interviewed by the famous Judge Antonio Di Pietro himself, the country's most prominent investigating magistrate, before being released.

Across town, the woman's niece tells of the summer vacations she spent swimming

and sailing with the family of a Neapolitan politician. The politician, of the Democratic Party of the Left, the former Communist Party, is caught up in the kickback scandal; his wife protests that he is completely innocent of the dreadful charges, the niece says.

A Puerto Rican married to an Italian, recounts waking up a few weeks ago to hear that her boss at the University of Rome had been arrested on kickback charges.

And a public relations director said she and her husband were anxiously watching news about the kickbacks on the Milan subway system last year, because they were worried that a relative who was prominent in the organization would be named.

So as all of these developments unfold, Italians are turning in droves to Canale 5, the flagship of Silvio Berlusconi's television empire. (Mr. Berlusconi, who can attribute more than a little of his success to connections in the Socialist Party, is at pains to explain that he got out of the construction business because he didn't want to pay kickbacks.)

More than a year ago Berlusconi got government permission to launch an 8 o'clock news program in direct competition with the most popular news show on state-owned RAI television.

The first program was disastrously bad, with the anchor shoving his glasses back up his nose every few seconds, with the wrong graphic popping up next to him, and with a raft of soft-and-fuzzy feature stories instead of real news.

Today, however, Canale 5's newscast is hard-hitting and objective. And it has been creating a stir. Its sophisticated presentation of the news caused RAI to revamp its own broadcast.

One reason Canale 5's program is popular is that it doesn't bury embarrassing news (as RAI has been accused of doing), but consistently leads with the day's most significant developments, which for some time to come will probably be Italy's must viewing: word of arrests and *avvisi di garanzia*.